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ABSTRACT

This volume contains papers which were presented at a conference focusing on the themes of partnership and progress in urban education. The following papers are included: (1) an introduction to the volume, by Gary Gappert; (2) "Urban Education: Past, Present and Future," by Bernard G. Watson; (3) "Variables Affecting the Learning of Inner City Children," by Anthony Boardman, David Horowitz, and Ann Lloyd; (4) "Mama Talking to Papa Under the Tree," by Leah Fitchue; (5) "Allocating Opportunities and the Social Economy of Education," by John P. Blair; (6) "The Educational Priorities Panel: Its Significance as an Educational Change Strategy," (8) "Two Partnership Models Aimed at Easing Transition from School to the World (8) "Two Partnership Models Aimed at Easing Trainsition from School to the World of Work," by Andrea Wilson; (9) "Towards a Conceptual Model of the Implementation of Management and Planning Systems in Schools," by Donald M. Levine; (10) "An Initial Formulation: Research, Diagnosis and Development in Urban Education," by Gary Gappert; and (11) a bibliography of current published research in urban education, by Marion Chapman and Ellen Newcombe. (GC)

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Urban Schools in Urban Systems,

Selected Papers

Edited by

Gary Gappert

Fall, 1978

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THE CITY IN THE SEARCH FOR MEANING

...it is undeniable that the city produces and singularly so, in the intellectual life. It is obviously permanent contact with other men which frees the human mind, which facilitates the exchange of ideas, which communicates foreign ideas, which permits the accumulation of enormous quantities of human raw material whose synthesis is to the glory of human intelligence....

As soon as the city exists, she polarizes all activity toward herself. There is something magical about her attractiveness, and it is impossible to explain men's passion for the city, her influence on their activity ... without giving a thought for her force, her seductive power ...

... the city is past master at furnishing illusions. ... nothing can resist the double attraction of land speculation and the city's psychic seductiveness. In the history of every civilization the same process is carried out: life becomes more supple and finally bends, ancestral customs disappear, modes of thought and mental make-up are modified. Both the surest instincts and the most defective mysticism are lost. ... For a natural necessity, the necessity imposed by the weather, the rhythm of days and seasons, the city tries to substitute liberty, that is, the possibility for man to do what he wants when he wants.

The Meaning of the City
Jacques Ellul, 1970

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INTRODUCTION

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INTRODUCTION

This volume contains papers which were prepared in connection with the fourth annual conference of the National Association of Urban Education. These papers represent "work in progress" on some significant aspects of urban education.

This conference was organized around the themes of "partnerships" and "progress." According to a report by Francis S. Chase for the Council of Great City Schools and the University Council for Educational Administration, "Urban Education has an inner vitality which is generating innovative programs and strategies of great potential even in the midst of extremely adverse conditions." He based this on a study of thirty large city school districts who provided data on a total of 599 programs which they rated most successful. Experiences with urban schools in the last several years clearly show an increasing number of community agencies and groups joining with schools to develop enriched environments for learning and by doing so, bridging the gulf between schools and urban society with significant innovations. It was the conviction of the planning committee for this conference that it was time to "celebrate" the progress of urban education and to plan for future partnerships in spite of the fiscal constraints facing schools today.

It is also significant that President Carter has named his urban policy the "New Partnerships" and has included a concern not only with intergovernmental relationships but with neighborhood and voluntary associations as well. It was our intention to provide the Association for Urban Education with an opportunity to bring together an interdisciplinary, inter-institutional group of educators and policy-makers, parents, and concerned community leaders to share promising practices and partnership activities in areas critical to urban education.

In addition it is also timely to begin to review the status of research on urban education, and its relationship to urban policy and planning. Good schools have been called the bottom-line of urban development. The revitalization of our cities depends, in large measure, on how well we educate our urban youth. But it may be time to realize that much more needs to be done to recognize the full range of developmental needs of all urban children. This will require a new recognition of the potential for urban education. As the Chase report indicates:[1]

> Education is an adventure to be pursued throuthout life -- in homes, from nature and through every encounter in ones' own and other culture. At no stage should it be confined to the schools but schools have an inescapable obligation to expedite learning in all life situations by developing the skills and the habits of observation and inquire that make experiences educative.

Five conference subthemes served as organizing principles around which the potentials for progress and partnerships were discussed and illuminated. These themes are:

- Educating Urban Youth
- Fiscal Priorities in Urban Schools
- Emerging Partnerships of Parents, Public Agencies, the Business Community.
- Political and Legal Realities Confronting Urban Education
- Strategies in School Management for Urban School Systems.

A bibliography at the end of this volume is organized by these themes. No attempt was made however to conduct an exhaustive search of the literature or other work in progress. The companion volume[2] which contains abstracts of the one hundred or so presentations at the conference provides more of an overview of the diversity of on-going research and progress in urban education.

EDUCATING URBAN YOUTH

The special circumstances of life in our great cities make improvement in urban education a very special goal. In the last decade urban educators have crossed new frontiers in understanding the psychosocial dimensions of multicultural education. In adapting to different cultural values, learning styles and economic circumstances, there is a requirement for the continuous evaluation and modification of curriculum and instruction. In this area as in others, the gaps between theory, research and practice have created a need for new partnerships especially for staff development activities. At the same time urban educators are striving constantly to better understand individual students and their capabilities.

In the initial paper Dr. Bernard Watson presents a historical perspective which begins with the Great City School Improvement program of the Ford Foundation in 1960. At that time the traumas of urban decline were about to begin. In the last decade and a half American cities have experienced the loss of population, jobs and wealth. At the same time there has never been a stronger need for a committment to equal educational opportunity. Watson outlines four major problems confronting urban educators as they enter the 1980's.

First, there is the problem of discipline and the need to provide an environment in which learning is supported by all the participants. Second, there is a concern with achievement levels and a reminder that the primary goal of schools is to concentrate on teaching and learning. A third problem was identified as the "disinvestment" in public education and its impact upon personal committment and hope. The fourth concern was with "accountability" and its effect upon the educational community and its extension to parents, citizens and students.

In concluding his paper Watson outlines the role of education in developing skills, empowerment and humanness.

The second paper by Boardman, Horowitz and Lloyd is an attempt to focus on the variables which affect the learning of inner city children. In order to fully understand the dimensions of the process of learning of these children, both the external conditions and the school conditions and resources must be examined. In the initial section of this paper the authors examine the external conditions in the environment of the urban school. Data from the Gary, Indiana Income Maintenance Experiment is cited to suggest that "attendance and achievement can be improved by external compensatory policies."

In the second section of the paper Bloom's theory of school learning is used as the basis for modeling the educational processes for Asian, Black and Puerto Rican students. Cultural similarities and differences are reflected in the interactions between various attitudes and student achievement. As with the work of Curtis Banks[3] and others, it seems possible to integrate the multiple contributions to achievement of interests, cultural values and social influences.

In the third section the authors review the application of production function models to research on poor and low achieving students. These analyses suggest that certain resources and strategies are more effective than others for these students. These reports also imply that similar research could be used as the basis of educational planning. The paper concludes with an overview of the organization realities of urban schools. This paper confirms the complexity of forces necessary for an understanding of the problems of educating urban youth.

The next paper by Leah Fitchue provides a short counterpoint to the preceding paper. This paper reviews in a rather eloquent context some of the recent work on the relation of home nuturing to school performance. It also raises some implicit but disturbing questions about the effect of school environments on social performance.

It is Ogbu's claim that American institutions have developed a caste-like system of racial stratification that virtually assures low black status in black adult life. Recent policies have weakened but not removed such conditions. If Ogbu's thesis is sound, it should be possible to design and develop a model which examines the conditions and circumstances of "caste-influencing" institutions in particular urban environments. The model of social economy suggested by Blair is an initial attempt to focus on the allocation of opportunities as the principal dynamic force which ultimately determines educational performance. Ogbu's notion of a "job ceiling" is in fact a ceiling on opportunity. Blair's initial analysis shows how the exchange model of traditional economics is inadequate for an understanding of how institutions allocate opportunities. Instead, it is suggested that the ideas of a "grants economy" be used to develop a model of urban institutions and the ways in which they allocate opportunities. It can be suggested that public policies which seek to expand both employment and educational opportunities should recognize the existing systems of opportunity-allocation within particular urban environments. Similarly the evaluation of such policies should take into consideration the effect of such circumstances and environments upon program effectiveness.

It should be anticipated that the current progress in teaching and learning research on student learning and development should be accompanied by new attention to economic circumstances and opportunities. The "social economy" of urban environments and institutions needs to be better understood if compensatory policies and programs are to become more effective.[6]

A different perspective is provided in the paper on allocating opportunities by John Blair. In a recent book sponsored by the Carnegie Council on Childre John Ogbu examined the phenomenon of "black school failure" and reviewed various theories which have been advanced to explain it.

As Alan Pifer reports:[4]

> One theory held that black children suffered from "cultural deprivation" in their home backgrounds. Another theory held that the conflict between the dominant white, middle-class culture of the public schools and the different culture of the black world, with its own values and even its own dialect, produced severe learning handicaps for the black child. A third theory emphasized the notion of institutional deficienty - that in myriad ways schools are organized to favor white, middle-class children at the expense of black children. Examples cited were hostile attitudes of white teachers, their insensitivity toward black children and their expectations that they would fail, educational "tracking," over-dependence on standardized tests in which blacks do poorly, and so on. A fourth theory put blame on the failure of the schools to ensure meaningful educational quality by instituting effective remedial programs to counteract the negative influences of home and community. A final, highly controversial and generally discredited theory attributed the lower school performance of black children to their allegedly inferior genetic capacity to learn certain kinds of cognitive skills.

Ogbu then examined the strategies associated with compensatory programs such as Head Start and Title I and with efforts at school integration. Although he agreed that both these strategies can be justified because of their contribution to moral and social goals, he found that neither have been particularly successful in equalising black school performance. According to Ogbu:

> The reason is that, like the theories on which they rest, they focus their attention on what are essentially symptoms of the pathology of balck failure rather than on its root cause. This root cause, which lies not in black but in white America, is the systematic relegation of blacks over many centuries to an inferior, caste-like status in our national life, with devastating consequences for their motivation and skills.

FISCAL PRIORITIES

The second subtheme of the conference was the recognition that in a time of fiscal constraints and inequitable allocation of resources, priorities must be set. A major dollar crisis has occurred in some cities and may continue to be a major barrier to progress in urban schools. The problems of "municipal overburden",tax-exempt property and inadequate capital to improve facilities also contribute to the fiscal stress on urban school distircts. At the same time tha total urban youth budget including diverse sources of federal funds must be examined for its impact on the youth which it is intended to serve. It should also be realized that equity requires not simply equal treatment, but the matching of resources to needs. In the future progress will depend upon both an increas in resources and their effective allocation among the priority needs determined by new partnerships between all of those concerned with the opportunities provided to urban youngsters.

In this paper Stan Litow reviews the strategy and the performance of the Educational Priorities Panel in New York City. This strategy is based upon the belief that the large and complex budget of any large urban bureaucracy contains resources that are poorly under utilized with respect to the provision of direct services. Litow's report documents the success of their efforts to intervene in both the budget making and budget implementation process in New York City.

This paper plus an unpublished paper by David Colton[7] of Washington University suggest that in the turmoil over the issues associated with fiscal adequacy and equalization, urban researchers have neglected their homework on the structure of urban expenditures on education.

In Colton's analysis of desegregation he found some interesting results as he writes:

> Turning first to the actual costs of desegregation, I have one generalization and three particulars. The generalization is that cost comparisons

among cities are extremely hazardous. There are three particular reasons for this. First, the context makes a difference. Among cities there are huge differences in items such as bus driver wages, availability of public transit systems, construction and remodelling costs, degrees of residential segregation, and other external cost determinants. Second, the type of plan makes a difference. Student reassignment systems are far less expensive, per affected pupil, than voluntary systems. Magnet-type programs not only increase program costs; they also produce far greater per pupil transportation costs than do reassignment systems. If a plan emphasizes school closings it can save money; if it emphasizes school construction it will not. Where closings are emphasized, the effects on the budget will be determined by the size and condition of the closed facilities and by their suitability for alternate use. Third, definitions make a difference. If a district wants to make desegregation look expensive, it uses short depreciation schedules for capital expenditures, it throws in the costs of remedial and compensatory education, it neglects possibilities for increasing load factors on buses, it overlooks the possibility of savings from school closings, and it neglects to point out that some revenues would not be available in the absence of a desegregation plan. If you want to minimize costs, you judge the figures in the opposite direction.

This kind of analysis indicates that comparative and longitudinal analysis of urban education budgets should be attempted. In addition the dynamics of budget expenditures and program implementation also require further attention. It is only realistic to suggest that in a time of scarce and declining resources that we examine the potential for increasing the educational "yield" of the remaining resources devoted to urban schools. Further work should look at (1) the processes and techniques of "debudgeting" school programs in relation to declining enrollments and (2) the problems of "multi-pocket budgeting" with respect to categorical programs and special need students.

PARTNERSHIPS AND URBAN SCHOOL MANAGEMENT

Urban centers, in particular, have a rich multitude of people and resources that are being put to work in extending and improving the education of urban youth. The rise of school-community-business learning coalitions is emerging as a key characteristic of urban education in the late 1970's. The development of partnerships requires both new skills and new committments. There is also a need to focus on the removal of barriers to inter-agency cooperation and coordination. This is also an area in which the Federal government should seek to supply incentives and reward innovations. In the sessions organized in this phase of the conference, a number of exciting programs were reviewed. This is an area in which progress in practice has pulled ahead of both theory and research. This too, reflects the vitality of urban education.

In his paper Francis A. J. Ianni provides a clear conceptual analysis of the need for a "educating community." In his paper Ianni reviews the distinctive roles that "schools" and "community" play with respect to modern educational functions. Both are social inventions which exist in response to particular social circumstances. Ianni examines the role of various urban institutions to the problems of adolescence which is itself another social invention.

A different perspective is provided by Dr. Andrea Wilson in her description of two partnership models aimed at easing the transition from school to the world of work. She contrasts the dynamic details of a program with the problems of developing a "social learning" curriculum. Such a curriculum is a logical extension of some of the initial efforts in career education. Both of these papers reflect an awareness of the inter-organization complexity which is the reality of educational opportunity in American cities.

In the midst of this complexity, the schools and school systems must be managed in order to bring about instructional improvement and an

expansion of social and economic opportunity. As urban education becomes even more intricate - reaching outwards from the school to the community, and upwards to the district, the school board, and to diverse political and municipal officials - new ways of making the system work are being tried. Routine administration won't make it - innovative strategies and creative leadership will.

In his paper Donald Levine proposes a comprehensive conceptual model for analyzing the implementation of management and planning systems within large school districts. He proposes a description of the "generic" management problem which consists of four issues. These are:

- lack of information
- lack of understanding
- lack of tools for the redress and correction of problems
- lack of motivations.

In essence Levine has created a model of "management deficit" which might be present in large and complex organizations. He then applies this concept of a "managerial deficit" to the broader problem of organizational change. With this orientation established, Levine discusses the managerial realities of establishing evaluation and planning systems for management purposes. He suggests that there are five general types of such systems. These include:

- optimization systems
- sub-optimization systems
- experimental systems
- negotiation systems
- dialectic systems

The development and implementation of such management systems is related to the need to establish external credibility and internal confidence. Role analysis is proposed as the basis of a managerial review process by which implementation of change can be more effectively achieved.

It is clear that the management problems of urban school will become more and not less complex. The management of partnerships will compound that complexity. Strategies to identify and utilize effective management systems should be one of the top initial priorities in the 1980's.

POLITICAL AND LEGAL REALITIES

At the same time, however, the creation and implementation of educational policies remain the subject of complex, diverse and different decisions by all levels and branches of government. Complex social forces have created political and legal issues which, in turn, are determining what, how much, and where students learn. Hardly an urban district goes untouched. The problems inherent in the social and economic renewal of our cities are worked out in political and legal arenas. The urban school is no longer outside these arenas but, in some cases, has become the arena itself as the sessions for this part of the conference illustrated.

Throughout the conference participants echoed the charge by Bernard Watson that professional educators have for too long disdained or ignored systematic recognition of political forces. Similarly it might be argued that political scientists and policy planners have both avoided or neglected systematic attention to educational needs and realities. For instance it has only been recently that concerted research and policy planning has been initiated on the urban desegregation problem. In other significant areas of urban political issues the educational disciplines and social sciences remain fragmented in their attention to urban theory and practice.

In his recent review of urban theory Jay S. Goodman[8] refers to "disciplinary eclecticism." The state of urban political analysis is regarded as "almost as disquieting as the state of the cities themselves." The disjuncture between what political scientists know about cities and urban change and the realities of the underlying political behavior has grown wider in

the last decade. As Hawley and Lipsky write "traditional theoretical perspectives have been inadequate to the task of facilitating analysis of urban politics and problems."[9] Even if the social sciences are unable to come together to develop a macro theory of urban change, Gordman suggested that for "middle range theory" the variables and methods seem to be simpler to specify. At this level, the level of different types of urban institutions and environments, there is often empirical data which can provide for cross-site analysis and for conscious modes of replication. The task is to consider and select several such middle range theories for their usefulness in understanding the realities which impact upon urban schools.

In the final paper of this volume Gappert attempts to organize a framework for research, diagnosis and development in urban education systems around ten dimensions of "urbanism."

Louis Wirth formulated the original concept of urbanism around the notions of size, density, and heterogeneity. A more appropriate contemporary conception of urbanism, featuring relationships expressing underlying socio-economic realities, should probably include the dimensions of (1) urban population changes, (2) segmented markets, (3) the poverty and progress paradox, (4) the organization and distribution of lifestyles, (5) the problems of community or group identification, (6) the manifestations of racial conflict and cultural aversions, (7) the range of intermediate institutions and organizations, (8) innovation and diffusion, (9) the changing nature and value of centrality, and (10) the evolving uses of urban structural forms.

Each of these dimensions reflects a different "urban science" with a distinct literature, methodology and set of data analysis techniques. The problem in social systems research or in research for policy analysis and development is the integration of such differences within the context of a

single research area. Simultaneously any serious policy research problem is itself a complex set of internal dimensions. Gappert goes on in his paper to suggest some of these internal dimensions for an urban educational system. These dimensions are:

(1) the issue of a language deficit or a language difference

(2) the cultural and class experiences of an urban student

(3) the instructional style and resources of the urban teacher

(4) the multiple functions of an urban principal

(5) the resources and resource linkages of the urban school

(6) the community systems associated with the urban school

(7) the inter-institutional linkages between the school system and other agencies

(8) the management and administration system of the urban district

(9) the shifting patterns of employment opportunities for urban teenagers and high school graduates

(10) the politics of economic and legal constraints.

He goes on to propose a basic approach to urban educational research based upon several assumptions. These are:

- A need to recognize the complexity of urban systems and the environment in which urban schools function.
- An initial definition of "urbanism" in American society along ten or so dimensions.
- An initial definition of at least ten dimensions which are important for an understanding of the functions and structures of urban school systems in a policy context.
- A recognition of the significance of different research traditions and paradigms of inquiry and analysis.
- A need to establish priorities for urban education research in fundamental and applied areas.

Associated with these assumptions is another assumption which is that we have tended to equate urban education with the problems of low status population as defined by ethnic, minority or low socio-economic characteristics. In the decade ahead this emphasis will remain important but we

need to recognize what Ed Gordon indicated at the first national urban education conference in Kansas City. This is that the essence of most urban characteristics are now part of the experience of almost all the people in the country, thanks to modern communication and transportation. As Gordon has indicated:

> This population shift has led us to equate urban education with the problems of low status persons. However, there are problems more critical to urban life and certainly more crucially related to the future of our society than the problems faced by low status people in our cities. This in not to demean or underestimate the importance of ethnic discrimination or the importance of poverty in the lives of people. These are tremendously important issues, and society must do something about them. Rather, this is to suggest that professionals often greatly confuse the problems of urban education with the problems of these special status populations. As a result, we may be doing a disservice to low status populations, to the concerned professions, and to the domains of minority education and urban education by treating the two as if they were synonymous.

Gordon reminds us that:

> Urban areas are characterized by large numbers of people, by high densities, by great diversity and heterogeneity of characteristics and concerns of people, by high degrees of mobility, a relatively high incidence of anonymity, by conflicting life-styles in close proximity, by cultural richness, by the concentration of human and material resources, by ease of communication and geographic mobility, and by the coexistence of fluidity and rigidity in institutional and personal behavior. This is just to name a few characteristics, all of which confront us with challenge and opportunity.

Increasingly, Gordon contends, "urban education must be defined as including education in what is rapidly becoming an urban nation." As he puts it:

> In other words, our study of urban education must take into account an understanding of urbanicity as one of the prime characteristics of the modern technological society.

To assist us in such a new research departure, different models of urban change and influence need to be developed and utilized.

The bibliography provided at the end of the volume provides a limited but useful survey of the range of current published research in urban education. The bibliography prepared by Chapman and Newcombe is selective. It was not intended to be exhaustive nor be conceptually representative of the field of urban studies. It does, however, present a very careful review of information related to the five topics of the conference with the addition of a "general" category for those references which scan the entire range of the conference.

The citations cover a wide breadth of inclusion criteria. There is a heavy leaning toward "state-of-the-art" reviews which include bibliographies useful to the student and new evaluations of policy and trends in planning. It was also considered useful to students of the field to cite works from a variety of sources; perhaps thereby introducing them to valuable, yet untrapped, resources in their individual work. Current items have been included to draw attention to recent work which may not be in standard indexes. Works, considered basic in the field, e.g. Jencks, C., et al. Inequality, have not been listed under the assumption they are known to the student of the field.

Given the scope of the topic, the bibliography is only a guide to the wealth of literature resources available. We believe it provides base information and sources to utilize in your individual work.

CONCLUSION

It was hoped that the conference would provide its participants with an opportunity to gain new perspectives and to reconfirm their committment to the potential of urban education. Urban schools of the 1980's, if they are to build upon current progress, will require the full and effective utilization of new resource combinations and partnerships for progress.

It will also require some new departures in policy, research and knowledge development and utilization.[10] Such a committment should also recognize some of the extraordinary work which has been accomplished over the last decade by urban educators especially in the theory and practice of teaching and learning in culturally diverse circumstances. In other areas however, the apparent yield from the meager resources invested in urban educational research and development is difficult to detect and evaluate.

It is suggested here that new departures (and investments) in urban knowledge development and utilization be considered and planned in at least five areas.

First, as the conference indicated, there has been a literal explosion of urban partnerships for education and schools. Partnership theory needs to be developed as the basis of evaluating or understanding the effectiveness and utility of these diverse efforts. Inter-governmental constraints and incentives, inter-institutional planning and inter-agency delivery of services need to be studied and the results synthesized for better utilization by practitioners.

Second, a comprehensive approach to the study of the relation of state and urban politics to the bahavior of urban institutions which serve youth in and out of school in particular urban environments needs to be developed and undertaken. Such an approach should not follow the "disciplinary electicism" of the various schools of political science but should be oriented to the political economy of resource allocation and to the social economy of opportunity distribution.

Third, associated with the above area but distinct from it is the need for research on the translation of resources into results in urban education. Although the accountability movement may create certain hyper-rational excesses, there is a need to better understand the dynamic forces which link expenditures to specific inputs and their translation into various

A FINAL NOTE

In the frontpiece of this volume the remarks of Jacques Ellul on the meaning of the city are cited. It is difficult to disagree with his conclusion that the city does not encourage certitude but rather stimulates doubt and uncertainty. But there is also a sense, as Lewis Mumford has pointed out, that one of the principal functions of a city is to serve as a museum or as "the best organ of memory" that society has yet created. As he writes:

> Every variety of human function, every experiment in human association, every technological process, every mode of architecture and planning, can be found somewhere within its crowded area.
>
> That immensity, that retentiveness, is one of the greatest values of the big city. The breadth of human experience that the dynamic, still healthy metropolis offers is rivalled by its density and depth, its capacity for making available layer upon layer of human history and biography, not merely through its records and monuments, but through distant areas that its great resources make it possible to draw upon.

As Francis Chase often has indicated, urban schools in American society were once the source of excellence and innovation. The challenge to educational Research and Development and to the policy planners of our society is to work towards the restoration of "great schools" in "great cities." From the evidence exhibited at the conference that reconstruction is not inevitable but certainly is plausible. Better Schools in urban systems should be a goal of American domestic policy and research in the 1980's. That goal will certainly be achieved if researchers and policy planners together committed themselves to the oath of the Athenian City-State. This oath states:

> WE WILL EVER STRIVE FOR THE IDEALS AND SACRED THINGS OF THE CITY, BOTH ALONE AND WITH MANY; WE WILL UNCEASINGLY SEEK TO QUICKEN THE SENSE OF PUBLIC DUTY; WE WILL REVERE AND OBEY THE CITY'S LAWS; WE WILL TRANSMIT THIS CITY NOT ONLY NOT LESS, BUT GREATER, BETTER AND MORE BEAUTIFUL THAN IT WAS TRANSMITTED TO US.

Gary Gappert
Research for Better Schools, Inc.

implementation processes and school based outputs. At the same time however such studies on educational implementation should be set in the context of the broader patterns of urban (and metropolitan) distribution of resources and opportunities.

A fourth departure in urban knowledge development and utilization should concern itself with the management of school based and teacher focused staff development programs. Although many of the conference participants deplore the state of preservice education for urban education, a significant number of initiatives in changing the character of preservice training for education in urban environments seem to be underway. With the prospect however of declining enrollments and an educational labor force which is "tenured-up", more in-service initiatives will be necessary to maintain the revitilization of urban schools. Criteria for planning, implementing and evaluating such programs need to be developed.

The fifth departure in urban knowledge development and utilization is in the area of managerial capacity building. It is significant to note that with all the emphasis on the national study of federally supported innovations, little attention has been paid to the ways in which the managers of the 50 or so largest Title I districts have managed and coped with the infusion of federal categorical programs in a period of fiscal, political and legal stress. The emphasis on the critical role of the building principal has caused some neglect of the strategic role of the managerial functions of urban districts in the attempted achievement of institutional reconstruction. With the application of futures research to the environment of the 1980's, it should be possible to design a supportive program of knowledge development and utilization for the urban school managers of the next decade.[11]

FOOTNOTES

[1] Francis S. Chase, Urban Education Studies, Council of Great City Schools, Washington, D. C. 1978

[2] Program Abstracts prepared by Gary Gappert and JoAnn Weinberger, Fourth Annual Conference, Association of Urban Education, Research for Better Schools, Inc., Philadelphia, PA 1979.

[3] W. Curtis Banks, "Achievement Motivation and Black Children" IRCD Bulletin, Teachers College, Columbia University, Volume XI, No. 4, Fall 1976.

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Partnership for Progress in Urban Education - November 1978

"URBAN EDUCATION: PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE"

PAPER PRESENTED TO

URBAN EDUCATION NATIONAL CONFERENCE

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Urban Education: Past, Present and Future

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In 1960, the Ford Foundation selected 10 major American Public School Systems as targets for an ambitious program. The cities were Buffalo, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, San Francisco and St. Louis. The Great Cities School Improvement Program as the Ford Project came to be known had several goals and purposes:[1]

1. Raising levels of achievement.
2. Intensive in-service education.
3. Enrichment activities for pupils.
4. Parent participation.
5. Reduce the impact of class as defined by SES, Race and Family Structure on one's adult status.
6. Redesign inner city schools so that they are not imitations of middle-class schools.
7. Widen the parameters of those involved in education.

With high hopes and great ambitions, these selected systems attacked the problems confronting them. In Buffalo, New York teachers revised the curriculum for the "culturally deprived" in language arts, mathematics, science and social studies. Chicago concentrated on the parents of drop-outs by remedial instruction, intensive academic and vocational guidance, practical job training and cultural enrichment. Cleveland, through its "port of entry" project helped migrant children and parents adjust to urban life. Detroit hired additional staff to help teachers in the classroom. Pittsburgh introduced team teachers and Philadelphia added school-community combinations to bring the school and community closer together. Dr. David Horowitz, then an associate superintendent of the Philadelphia Public Schools said:[2]

> It is to the credit of the Philadelphia Public Schools to be in the vanguard of this new dimension in educational emphasis that is attempting to raise the educational sights of children who come from disadvantaged backgrounds and environments.

The late Dr. Marcus Foster, then a junior high school principal, said:[3]

> It (the program) is based upon the assumption that human behavior can be modified in positive directions through effective planning, skillful teaching and intelligent, persistent effort.

Prophetic words and a Prophetic Program. The Ford Foundation had anticipated and attempted to forestall what was to become one of the most difficult challenges facing Americans in the last half of the 20th century: providing education of quality to children and youth from the slums and ghettos of America's cities. Unfortunately and regretably we have not solved that problem.

Dimensions of the Problem

In order to understand how difficult the task is, we must recognize that education challenges each of us daily. For 63.8 million Americans, education is a primary activity. There are approximately 60.4 million students, 3.1 million teachers and thousands of other educational personnel. Three out of every ten agencies are directly involved in education and this means that, as a nation, we have a tremendous human and material investment in education. Consequently, we need to work at not wasting any of such a valuable resource.

But our situation is ever more complicated than those figures indicate. Schools as organizations must deal with our judicial legislative, economic and political systems. All of these systems are complex and the interactions between and among them are unknown to many, incomprehensible to some and ignored by most. The interaction between the schools and other systems represent many but do not encompass all of the parameters of the challenge to urban education. And, as a result of the complexity of the educational process, educators must have not only the understanding, but the support of all systems. Thus, our conference theme: "Partnership for Progress in Urban Education."

What We Know

We are not completely ignorant, however. We know a great deal. We know, for example, that city schools have never done an adequate job of educating the poor, immigrants and minorities.[4] Despite the thousands of individual success stories, too many have left our schools prematurely or poorly equipped. We know that our government is dynamic and complex, that chronic conditions in the society impose and mandate changed conditions in the schools. We know that urban schools are microcosms of our urban environment. We know that there are no simple answers to the problems urban schools must confront. Despite too much rhetorical nonsense to the contrary, we also know that educators cannot solve all of urban education's problems. Perhaps one important outcome of this conference would be the frank and open admissions that the problems we face are of such magnitude, of such complexity and of such persistence that our only hope of designing workable solutions will be in partnership with others outside the field of education.

Major Problems

And what are some of these problems? The public clearly views discipline as a major problem. Every Gallup poll in recent memory has identified this as a major problem, not only in the perceptions of citizens, but also, increasingly, in the reports of educators. But what do these perceptions imply? Obviously, to some, it is a reaction to the dress, increased assertiveness and different values among many of our young people. Too many adults are either unwilling or unable to accept the changes which have occurred in our society and which are reflective in our youth. To others it represents a yearning for the "good old days" of strict discipline and unquestioning obedience; a world which probably never existed; and, if it did, is viewed with hindsight through rose-colored glasses.

But there is also another reality behind these perceptions and that reality includes an estimated cost of 600 million dollars in school vandalism, assaults on students, teachers and administrators and the public perception of schools as places unsafe for their children to attend. That perception includes the fact that vandalism is increasing faster in supposedly safe suburban areas than in cities and the fact that educators' responses to the reality of violence and vandalism have been narrow-gauged and uneven, tending to focus on disciplinary measures after the fact and containment rather than prevention. Unknown or ignored are the success stories of preventing or reducing violence and vandalism.[5] The fact that urbanization and poverty are the most important variables in explaining inner-city crime or that deteriorating living conditions in cities accompanied by white flight to the suburbs, easy availability of drugs and guns and a decline in family discipline contribute to the problem, are either considered irrelevant or dismissed as more "liberal nonsense," or "sociological drivel."[6] Educators themselves have failed to recognize or have been unwilling to admit that changes in attitudes of teachers, administrators and other staff contributed to the growth of violence and vandalism, particularly when student bodies have changed rapidly from middle-class white to poor, Hispanic and black. Too many educators and parents believe that the extension of student rights by courts have "tied the hands" of teachers and administrators in handling student discipline.[7] Perhaps more than any other single factor, however, has been the failure or refusal of education to stand up and proclaim enough is enough; that when a situation develops where 1% or 5% of the students make it impossible for the other 99% or 95% to learn, education is impossible and that the minority must be removed from the school environment; that there are rules of behavior which must be observed if any learning at all is to take place; that for those whom the schools cannot control, society and its other youth-serving institutions have an obligation to provide alternatives. Educators, schools cannot do everything.

Achievement Levels

Whatever our problems with discipline, it is our failure to provide education of quality which disturbs the public most. Our failure to provide basic skills of literacy--reading, writing, arithmetic, speaking skills--to a major segment of the school population is nothing short of a national disgrace. How can we claim to be teachers, administrators, counselors, social workers when too many of our graduates, as well as our dropouts, cannot fill out an application for employment accurately; cannot pass the simplest of examinations or tests, cannot write an understandable or coherent paragraph or even a sentence? How do we explain thousands of young people who cannot carry on a conversation without inserting "right," "O.K." or "you know" after every two or three words?

Our defense, too often, is "look at all of our successes!" Nobody talks about them. Or we cannot hold youngsters back or make them repeat a grade. Or young people don't want to work hard today; they won't read. Their attitudes are bad or their parents are not interested and we can't do it alone. Or that favorite excuse, they come from broken homes, don't have a hot meal before coming to school; or they have so many problems they can't concentrate on their school work. A few of us will even admit that we think the students are too dumb, lack the mental capacity to learn and it is a waste of the tax payers money to try to educate them.

These are excuses, not reasons or explanations for our failures. Every child can learn given appropriate instruction and motivation. And that is what we get paid for every two weeks or every month. We were not hired to be sociologists or psychologists or social workers. We were hired to teach, to teach each and everyone of the children and

youth who are our clients. Not to love them, although that would help; not to be their buddies or peers, although it helps to be friendly; not to solve their problems of discrimination, poverty although anything we can do to help with these problems could be appreciated. We should, we must, concentrate our efforts on teaching and learning. That is our major contribution to the difficult, complex and persistent social problems too many of our urban youth face throughout their developmental years. We must do our jobs with such competence and skill that children and youth have a fighting chance to become effective, competent and self-directed adults. Unfortunately and tragically, the data suggest that the population of youth maturing to such a competency is declining.[8] For black and hispanic youth, the figures are nothing short of frightening.

Disinvestment

As our difficulties increase and our successes diminish, our situation deteriorates because of continuing disinvestment in public education in the cities. As our central cities become increasingly poor and non-white, tax dollars for public education and other services diminish. It is not just the loss of jobs, or taxable properties, or municipal overburden; it is also a change in attitude. The middle-class and white majority are less inclined to support at an appropriate level schools which serve a predominately non-white and poor student body. Private schools attract the children and youth of middle-class and affluent whites and non-whites. Private schools become a refuge for those fleeing desegregation, the poor and non-whites. City councils, state legislators and even the U.S. congress seek ways to provide public monies for private education. Public schools are criticized, villified, and held up to ridicule. Teachers and administrators are justifiably angered and defensive.

Yet, we are often our own worst enemies. Confronted with the stark realities of our failures, we respond with educational jargon, sociological

nonsense, psychological pap and outright lies, even when we don't know we are lying. Rarely do we say you are right and we need help. Rarely do we take the initiative and point out the responsibilities of our critics. And we almost never admit our own culpability and inadequacies. Perhaps it is because we too have lost confidence in school systems we staff, in our own ability to improve existing conditions. Do we , for example, have the guts to say to those who are leading the surge of disinvestment: you give us these specific resources and we will deliver an acceptable product? Not an exemplary product, but an acceptable product. Are we willing to demonstrate our faith, our commitment by placing our own children in the public schools? By acting as professionals and holding our peers as well as ourselves accountable for true professional behavior in classrooms and school buildings? Disinvestment is observable not only in reduced support, but also and, more importantly, in spirit, personal commitment and continued hope.

Accountability

This word, accountability, strikes fear into the hearts of most teachers. And rightfully so. Few people discuss accountability unless the focus is the classroom teacher. That focus is necessary, but not sufficient. Accountability extends to parents, citizens and students; the one group where little, if any, attention is directed. Of course, teachers should be held accountable. If a child enters a classroom at point "1" in learning and knowledge, it is not unreasonable to expect that the child will be at point "2" or "3" or "7" at the end of the year. Some improvement must be evident if we are to accept our responsibilities as educators. But it is just as unrealistic to expect school personnel to educate students who are absent most of the time as it is to expect students to learn in a hostile and dehumanizing environment. It is sheer lunacy to expect a school system to survive without community support for programs and tax levies.

The basic obligations of the teacher's role are competence and a belief in the ability of children. Teachers must accept the fact that most parents want the best for their children and should respond to these aspirations positively and constructively rather than with warnings and prophesies of failure. A teacher's knowledge of subject matter is literally useless if he or she does not believe that the knowledge can be communicated to the students and that they are capable of learning beyond the limits of certain imposed expectations. Teachers must insist upon high standards for their students and must accept the responsibility for insuring that those who pass through know more and can cope better as a result of having been in school.

There are, of course, a number of things which parents can and must do toward this end. Most obviously, parents can support tax levies and can encourage general community support. Parents must also provide support for staff members when they are in need and when they are right. There are numerous instances when staff members who are dedicated to improving the quality of education encounter resistance from other sources within the school system; for policy reasons, for personal reasons, and for political reasons. In these instances, parent support is often critical to the effort of the staff members involved: without it, they are isolated and vulnerable and their attempts are rendered ineffectual.

As much as we would like to believe that what goes on in schools is apolitical or, at least, well-intentioned, the fact of the matter is that schools perform a governmental function and in the performance of that function they are subject to all the conflict which besets every agency of government. Schools are political beasts and their agents--especially those who occupy the vanguard--hold variously the precarious positions of diplomat, strategist and warrior.

Parents cannot sit back expecting objective and intelligent school administration without being willing, when necessary, to take sides in support of what they feel is right for their children.

The role of parents in school accountability is by no means limited to exerting influence over what happens inside the school. Parents also need to provide impetus and motivation for their children at home. They must not abdicate responsibility for their children by expecting school staff members to do things which are better done at home and in the neighborhood. Parents have an obligation to lead staff and others in matters which affect childrens' education, but are not solely educational matters: adequate diet, neighborhood maintenance, housing, police protection, health services and so on.

In all of the talk about school accountability, it is the student's role that is most often overlooked. Education, however, is not something that is or can be done to children; it is something that children do for themselves with the assistance of their parents and school staff. Despite the continuing discussions of "motivation" and "relevance", learning is ultimately a self-motivated activity, and the only criterion for "relevance" is as it relates to the individual learner. Teachers cannot provide motivation or relevance; they can provide opportunity for growth and learning. It is the student who must decide to take advantage of the opportunity. Nobody can educate a person who will not cooperate in the process.

Children and youth have a multitude of concerns and problems; they need support, guidance and wisdom. These things we have an obligation to offer them. We must also be receptive to their ideas and supportive of their ability and motivation. At the same time, young people must be encouraged and sometimes forced to be responsible. They must be led to closely examine their views, their actions, their goals, and aspirations.

Despite much of the rhetoric of the 1960's, we still don't have much of anything in our inner city or urban communities: physicians, attorneys, computer specialists, pilots, planners - you name it and we need more of them. More importantly, we live on a small planet and the skills needed today and tomorrow are far different from those of past generations. While students need to raise questions about the relevance of their education, they also need to develop competence. The last thing this society needs is people who want to "help the community" but who have no skills.[9] We must avoid and eliminate, where it exists, the situation described by Dr. Kenneth Clark:

> Children are not motivated to learn in city classrooms. They are not held to standards, they are told they don't need to know how to read - that any language they speak is acceptable. Their schools are brainwashing them into a sense of inferiority.[10]

Our Responsibility

Educators, particularly urban educators, have a difficult task. The value of education is being questioned today as it has never been questioned in the history of our country. On the one hand, our critics demand better quality than we are apparently able to provide. On the other hand, they question the investment they already place in public education. This is a continuing dilema, yet most Americans, as have others throughout history, know the value of education.

Tolstoy said:

> The need of education lies in every man: the people love and seek education as they love and seek the air for breathing.[11]

Plutarch argued:

> The very spring and root of honesty lie in good education.[12]

Aristotle said:

> Educated men are as much superior to uneducated men as the living are to the dead, and education is the best provision for old age.[13]

Herbert Spencer assented:

> Education has for its object the formation of character.[14]

Dubois, always the visionary said:

> The object of education was not to make men carpenters but to make carpenters men... our educational institutions must graduate to the world men fitted to take their place in real life by their knowledge, spirit and ability to do what the world wants done.[15]

Finally, Thomas Henry Huxley in discussing the results of education said:

> Perhaps the most valuable result of all education is the ability to make yourself do the things you have to do, when it ought to be done, whether like it or not; it is the first lesson that ought to be learned; and however early a man's training begins, it is probably the last lesson that he learns thoroughly.[16]

We must teach and reinforce these lessons on the value of education; not because the underlying philosophy is attractive to us and meets our needs, but for more practical reasons. Our civilization, our country cannot survive without an educated and informed citizenry. The lessons of Teapot Dome, Vietnam and Watergate should have reminded us of that reality. But more immediate is the reality of a developing underclass in this country; an underclass accurately described as without education, without skills, unemployed and without hope. A frightening development, thus, which reminds us of, but overshadows in importance, Conant's warning of "social dynamite" in our urban slums.[17]

Skills

How then can we as educators make our contribution to the resolution of the persistent problems of urban areas? First, it seems to me, we must concentrate our resources, knowledge, skills and commitment to improving schools. By this I do not mean just teaching people to read, write and figure. Although these things are important, my meaning is directed to the classic definition of school: distinction and knowledge, the ability to use one's knowledge readily in executing performance. It is a learned power of doing a thing expertly; a developed aptitude or

ability. Even the archaic definition of skill is closer to my meaning: it meant to make a difference, to matter. Under this definition, education would demonstrate that knowledge is learned, that aptitudes and abilities are developed and that the ultimate value of acquiring such skill is to use it effectively and readily in executing or performing a given task. One would therefore seek and acquire knowledge and skills as a means of accomplishing something he or she wanted or needed to do.

Empowerment

Acquisition of skills leads logically and progressively to empowerment, which in my definition means to enable; to make one able to do something. This definition implies, in fact mandates, the means and opportunity for doing. It speaks not only to individual empowerment, but to group empowerment. For the poor, the oppressed, the alienated, and the minorities, individual empowerment is not enough. It is important, even crucial, but not enough. If each of us has to grow and develop at the expense of our fellow man, it is a shallow accomplishment and ultimately self-defeating. For those at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder, individual empowerment is at best ephemeral and at worst a delusion. In this period of mankind's history when formerly powerless and "backward" peoples can wish a single decision--the oil crisis--or through a single event--the South African situation--alter the bahavior and functioning of even the most powerful nations, it should be clear that the destiny of every American, indeed every human being, is ultimately tied to the destiny of all mankind. For minorities and the poor, it is apparent that history affords ample evidence that our destinies are inextricably linked. For the affluent and the powerful, the maintenance of their privilege, status, stability and well-being means that genuine empowerment must be a group phenomenon, a group goal in politics, in economics, in social policy.

Humanness

Our most important contribution can be to infuse education with humanness. Education in this context is marked by comparison, by sympathy and consideration for other human beings, all human beings. Education is identified with the doctrine on why our life is centered on human interests and values. The underlying philosophy asserts the dignity and growth of man and his capacity for self-realization. Education in this context openly and proudly asserts its concern for the centrality of human values. It asserts that wealth, status, power, control, credentials and intellect are important, but secondary to compassion, sympathy and consideration for other human beings. It asserts that a person must be judged first by his essential humanity, that each person irrespective of his or her status, age, sex, race, or religion has an essential worth and dignity. Each life is precious and is therefore to be respected and protected. It asserts that each human being has not only the capacity, but the right to self-realization. The arrogance of intellect is thus mitigated and placed in perspective. As Sidney J. Adams once observed: "There has never been a society with enough good people."[18]

Skills, empowerment, and humanness. Think what our educational system could be if every educator chose these as priorities, devoted their best efforts to these and let others do what they could and should do. Parents, schools and communities would be involved in the total process and each would have its unique and special responsibility. It is time, it seems to me, to move beyond rhetorical and ideological battles. No single person or institution has a monopoly on truth, honesty or programs. Our choices are not between desegregation or integration, open classrooms or conventional programs, alternative education or conventional schools. Our real choice is to decide what quality education must include and act upon that, as an alternative to continuing to react and fight against a system which more often than not ignores or denigrates human values. Almost every program works for some children and youth;

almost every school has some successes along with the failures, almost every educator does something well; almost every teacher wants children to learn and be successful. The question is how do we accomplish it.

Whatever our level of skill or education, whatever our experience, we must remember that the young learn by example as well as precept, from behavior as well as preachment. It is not innovations or materials or technology we need. Professor Arrowsmith, formerly of the University of Texas, said it best:

> It is men we need, not programs. It is possible for a student to go from kindergarten to graduate school without ever meeting a man... a man who might for the first time give him the only profound motivation for learning, the hope of becoming a better man...
>
> When students say that their education is irrelevant, they mean above all the absence of this man. Without him, the whole enterprise is ashes, sheer phoniness.
>
> This is why students are so quick, and so right, to suspect a fatal hypocrisy in the teacher who lives without the slightest relation to what he knows, whose texts are wholly divorced from life, from human life. What students want is not necessarily what they need: but in this case it is the students who are right...
>
> The irony of the situation is enough to make strong men weep. Here, unmistakably, we have students concerned to ask the crucial questions--identify, meaning, right or wrong, the good life--and they get in response not bread, but a stone. Here we have a generation blessedly capable of moral courage, and it is the bitterest of anomalies that the humanities should be dying among students capable of moral outrage in a morally outrageous world.
>
> Almost without exception the response of the university to this profound hunger for education, for compelling examples of human courage and compassionate intelligence, has been mean, parochial, uncomprehending, or cold.
>
> Above all cold. The waste in sheer human incentive, in disappointment in matters where disappointment is destructive and fatal, is appalling... what, I find myself wondering, would education be like if humanists and teachers had the courage

of their traditions and dared to face their students as men in whom their studies and texts found worth, or at least attempted embodiment.[19]

In the final analysis partnership for progress in education will have no meaning until and unless the several sectors--schools, community and home--develop consensus on:

What we want for education

What we need for education

What we have the capacity and will to do.

As Dr. Arthur Jefferson, Superintendent of the Detroit Public Schools said:

> Schools do not exist apart from communities. Schools reflect their communities, are imbedded in them and draw substance from them. The problems of unemployment, crime, urban blight and deprivation come to school with the students. But so do strengths, the hopes and yes, the soul of our communities. Schools can make these problems worse or schools can help overcome them. Schools can build on these strengths or schools can crush them.[20]

I might add, so can individual educators, the coice is ours. We can help to shape our own future. Let's do it.

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VARIABLES AFFECTING THE LEARNING OF INNER CITY CHILDREN

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This paper represents work in progress. Conference participants are encouraged to send comments and criticisms to the author(s) in care of Urban Development, Research for Better Schools, Inc., 1700 Market Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19103.

This initial draft should not be quoted without permission.

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VARIABLES AFFECTING THE LEARNING OF INNER CITY CHILDREN

This report focuses on the education of the inner city child, specifically the poor, minority, low achieving student. In order to understand the full dimensions of the process of learning of such children we examine both the external conditions in which the child lives and the school conditions and resources that may constrain or facilitate the learning of the inner city child. First, we focus on the external environment of the urban school and highlight the structural processes that affect the home environment of the urban child. Second, we present research on the cultural similarities and differences in the educational process of inner city children. Using Bloom's (1976) theory of school learning as a point of departure we model the educational process for Asian, Black, and Puerto Rican American students, focusing on the interactions among various attitudes and student achievement. Third, we review the economic literature which specifically focuses on what school resources can enhance the achievement of poor and low achieving inner city children. These analyses both at the national and central city level suggest certain resources and strategies are more effective than others for these children. Lastly, we analyze how organizational processes at the classroom, school and district levels facilitate or constrain the learning of urban children.

I. The Urban Environment

The environment of the older central cities severely undermines the ability of urban public schools to effect equality of opportunity, much less equality of outcomes. In many ways the performance of the public schools merely mirrors the performance of the larger environmental structure and its ability to effect equality of opportunity and results. Moreover, policymakers have allowed the schools to be the focus for remedying inequality rather than attacking the external fundamental issues. It is both unrealistic and unjust to expect the schools to be able to compensate for the effects of unemployment, racial segregation, inadequate housing, and nutrition and family deterioration on the cognitive skills and affective characteristics of the urban child. Educators should acknowledge the limitations of what the school alone can remedy and should counter the disclaimers of the efficacy of education with demands for additional social welfare policies. The current low public attitude towards the schools is more than just a dissatisfaction with declining test scores; it is a dissatisfaction and loss of faith with our public and private institutions. Educators should not be so quick to raise their hands and promise that they, with additional monies, can remedy yet another social problem but rather they should be the first to point to other institutions to assume responsibility.

With this premise stated, what processes within the urban environment constrain the learning of inner city children? First, our central cities are becoming increasingly segregated by income and race as are our urban public schools. This isolation affects the expectations of the poor and minorities concerning their ability to ever be effectively integrated into

the economic mainstream (see New York Times Kerner report update). Moreover, the high unemployment of minorities in our central cities, particularly among minority youth with estimates ranging from 39 to 50% (Anderson, 1978), severely weakens the expectations of minority students about the efficacy of education. Jones (1977) reports that among the urban poor, primarily minorities, our society is creating a permanent underclass who exist as "marginal" persons. Ogbu (1978) states that the low achievement levels for urban minorities can be expected given our current job ceilings in this country. Furthermore, Watson (1978) in a national study of violence and vandalism in the schools suggests the availability of jobs for youth in school can contribute significantly to a decrease of such problems.

Inadequate housing is another structural constraint facing the urban child. The general decay of the urban infrastructure in older central cities contributes to housing abandonment and overcrowding (Peterson, 1977). Increasingly the private market is unable to provide adequate housing for the urban poor. In Philadelphia over 70% of the available housing predates World War II with marked deterioration in many areas (Rufolo, 1978). Unfortunately the public sector response has often failed to provide structures conducive to stable home environments. One need look only at the Richard Allen Project or vertical low income housing projects in Philadelphia to see the deteriorative effects of public policy and accompanying social pathologies.

Inadequate employment and housing contributes to high residential mobility in our central cities. The Philadelphia 1970 census indicated that 38.7% families changed homes within 5 years. Other research

indicates that residential stability has a positive effect on school achievement and that high residential mobility can impede both school attendance and achievement.

Employment, housing and welfare policies contribute to the deterioration of the family structure and interaction patterns of the inner city family. Recent surveys in New York City indicate that 2 out of every 3 Puerto Rican families is female headed. One should note that this family deterioration among minorities is not a residual from some earlier period (Gutman, 1976) but is a product of the recent urban condition.

Clearly all of these processes impact on the quality of the home environment of the inner city child. Research in education has indicated the powerful effect of the home environment on children's achievement (Coleman et al., 1966; Jencks et al., 1972; Aaron, 1977; Boardman, 1974). Among the home environment attributes that researchers have found to be significantly correlated with children's school performance are education levels of parents, family income, socioeconomic status indices, the presence of reading materials and durable goods ownership (Averch, 1972; Duncan, 1974; Flanagan, 1972; Birch and Gussow, 1970; Wray, 1971; and Goldstein, 1976). Others have analyzed the effects of nutrition (Wray, 1971); health care, (Kaplan et al., 1972), parental time allocation (Liebowitz, 1977), and Lindert, 1977) and housing (Wilner and Walkley, 1963) on children's attendance and achievement. Given the significance of these home variables it is not surprising that the evaluations of Headstart, Follow Through and Title I and IV have had mixed results. Clearly other compensatory policies are necessary.

Of course further research needs to be done on the quality of interactions between parents and children that contribute to positive cognitive skills and affective characteristics. Marjoribanks (1974) and Williams (1974) review the research on behavior in the home that affects educational behavior. For example, poor minority parents often communicate less with children which may impede their verbal skills. Brookover (1969) found that when teachers worked with parents on techniques to increase parental expectations of children such parent education and resultant changes of expectations and interactions between parents and children improved children's self concepts which in turn would improve their achievement. Just as teachers must learn to use cues, reinforcement/participation feedback correctives in the classroom so must parents. Unfortunately, parent participation in the inner city schools has often been an adversary relationship over school expenditures and busing rather than a mutually beneficial one to enhance student learning at home and school. Government policies (such as Federally funded negative income tax and employment) can increase income in the home but improvement in parent/child interaction at home requires parent education programs, particularly if more immediate effects are desired.

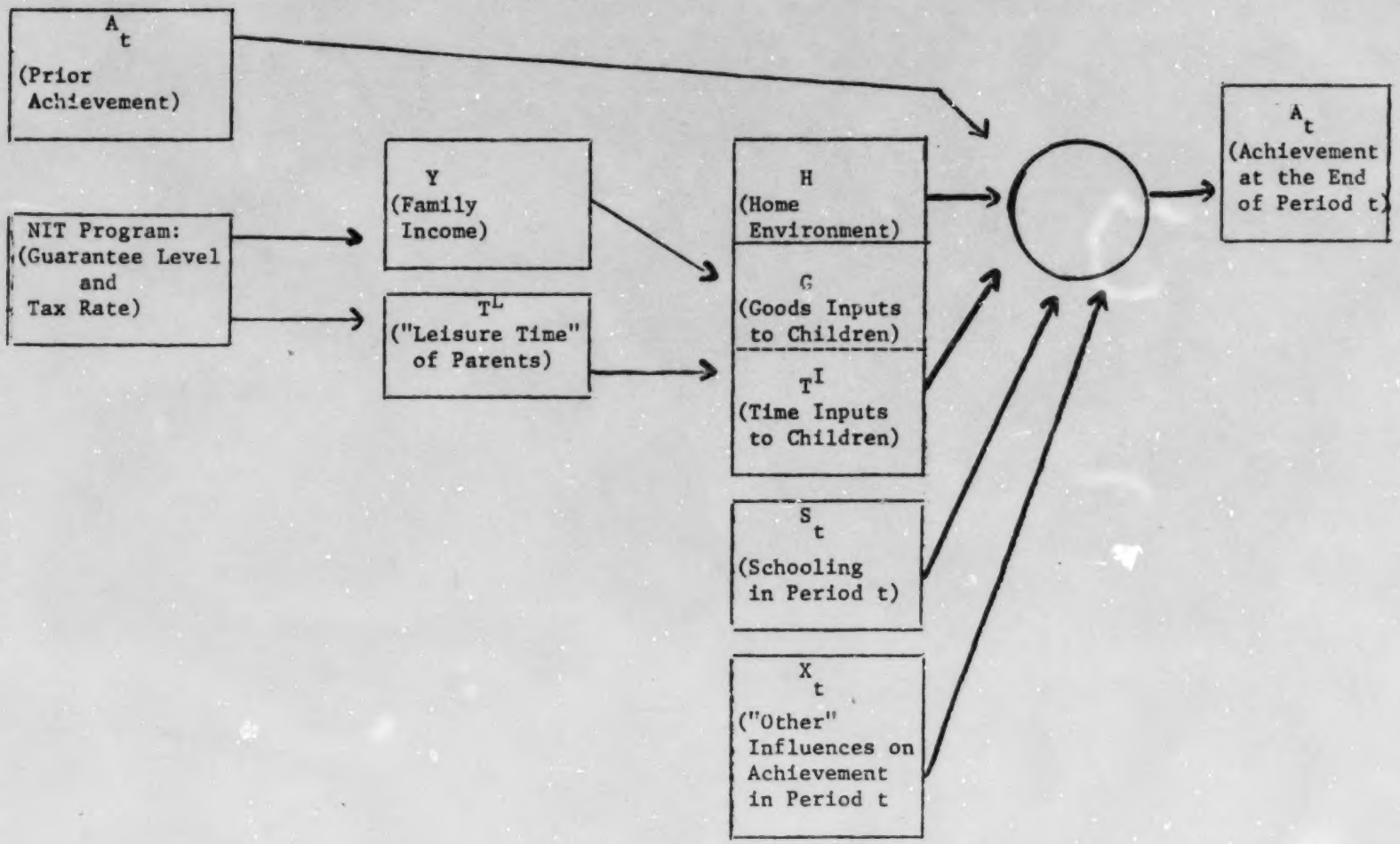
Two recent analyses Maynard (1977) and Maynard and Murnane (1978) examine the effects of the Gary Indiana Income Maintenance Experiment on the school performance of black, inner city children from low income families and suggest that attendance and achievement can be improved by external compensatory policies. This NIT experiment directly and indirectly modified aspects of the home environment such as labor force

activity of parents, housing quality, nutrition, health care consumption, durable goods ownership and income. The a priori model that Maynard and Murnane (1978) developed to describe the causal links between the NIT program and student achievement is represented in Figure 1.

Although the results were mixed and limited because of the duration of the program and extent of compensation, their research does suggest particularly that improvement in the housing quality and nutrition could positively affect school attendance and achievement. For example two or fewer persons per bedroom and greater expenditure on food resulted in higher reading test scores among some children.

In conclusion, this section has attempted to describe the possible effects of conditions external from the school on the learning of the inner city child. As has been stated, educators alone cannot remedy these external constraints except perhaps in the area of parent education. However, educators can demand the government to assume a more comprehensive approach for dealing with these problems. These external conditions in the inner city may be so overwhelming that the schools are severely limited in their ability to affect the education of the inner city child. This is not to excuse educators, but compensatory educational programs and policies cannot be viewed as the panacea.

Figure 1


A_t
(Prior Achievement)
NIT Program:
(Guarantee Level and Tax Rate)
Y
(Family Income)
T^L
("Leisure Time" of Parents)
H
(Home Environment)
G
(Goods Inputs to Children)
T^I
(Time Inputs to Children)
S_t
(Schooling in Period t)
X_t
("Other" Influences on Achievement in Period t
A_t
(Achievement at the End of Period t)

II. Cultural Differences in the Educational Processes of Inner City Children

Clearly, one major problem confronting urban educators is the diversity of cultural and social backgrounds of inner city children.

Prior to the formulation and implementation of educational policies to improve school outcomes, educators must understand that inner city children from various racial and ethnic groups bring different skills and attitudes to the school. Furthermore, the process of education i.e., the interaction among various school outcomes and the effects of school resources may vary across different groups of children. Through an analysis of the attitudes and achievement of children from different cultural backgrounds one may suggest why many educational studies have failed to reveal the effective accomplishments of schools. Few school resources consistently benefit all students--students from various cultural and structural backgrounds may require different resources.

Research in multicultural education focuses on the determinants of various educational outcomes such as student achievement and attitudes. While researchers have investigated the cultural and structural variables affecting various outcomes, few have explicitly modelled these attitudes and achievement as jointly determined. In this section we (Boardman and Lloyd) summarize our on-going research on simultaneous equations models of the educational processes for various minority groups by highlighting the processes of education for twelfth grade Asian, Puerto Rican and black students, threedistinct minority groups within the region that RBS serves. Our purpose here is not to discuss the methodology by which one can formulate such models nor to present the entire statistical results of our research but rather to suggest similarities and differences among

the educational processes for three minority groups which is an essential pre-requisite to educational policymaking in urban education.*

First, the process of education should be viewed as a system of multiple, interrelated outputs. While achievement goals are often emphasized, research has failed to show a strong causal relationship between achievement in school and future life chances except in terms of "right of passage" and certification. Other important affective outputs of the educational process include what a person thinks about himself and his ability to determine what happens to him. Clearly, students must acquire cognitive and affective skills; they must have knowledge but also be able to negotiate; content and form are both important for academic success. Furthermore, an analysis of multiple outcomes relates to the three major concerns of Research for Better Schools: basic, career and citizenship skills. Clearly, many minority children are not acquiring these skills.

Bloom's (1976) theory of school learning provides a useful basis for our discussion of the process of education. Bloom's central thesis is that variations in cognitive entry behaviors, affective entry characteristics and quality of instruction determine the nature of learning outcomes. These outcomes are the level and type of achievement, rate of learning and affective characteristics of the learner in relation to the learning task and self. More specifically the three general interdependent variables which produce these outcomes are:

a. the extent to which the student has already learned the basic prerequisites for learning to be accomplished.

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*This research was funded by NIE. For more detail of the model see Boardman et al. (1974) and Boardman et al. (1977b)

b. the extent to which the student is (or can be) motivated to engage in the learning process.

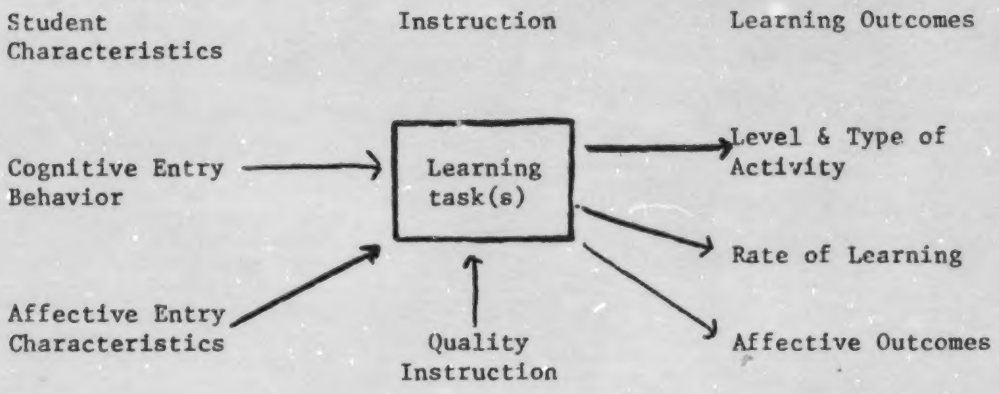
c. the extent to which the instruction is appropriate to the learner.

Bloom's theory of learning is represented in figure 2.

While Bloom's analysis suggests interactions among various inputs, among various outputs, and among various inputs and outputs, he does not explicitly model the endogenous and exogenous relationships within the process of learning. Moreover, he only suggests, not specifies, the causal relationships among the variables. Only when such relationships are fully specified can we begin to apply his ideas about how to improve the quality of instruction. Furthermore, while we recognize that the preferred level of analysis for the study of school learning might be the individual child, we begin by looking at similarities and differences among cultural groups. These similarities and differences among certain cultural groups are then further refined by the study of differences among various socioeconomic status groups and finally among different achievement level groups. Each level of analysis allows educators to further refine what they can expect the outcomes will be given different cognitive skills, affective characteristics and methods of instruction.

For this research we postulate nine educational outputs (endogenous variables): achievement, participation in a college preparatory program, achievement motivation, effort, expectations, self esteem, belief in one's ability to control one's environment, pupil's perceived parents' expectations and pupil's perceived teachers' expectations. At the same time we examine the effects of forty-eight inputs (exogenous variables) on each

Figure 2

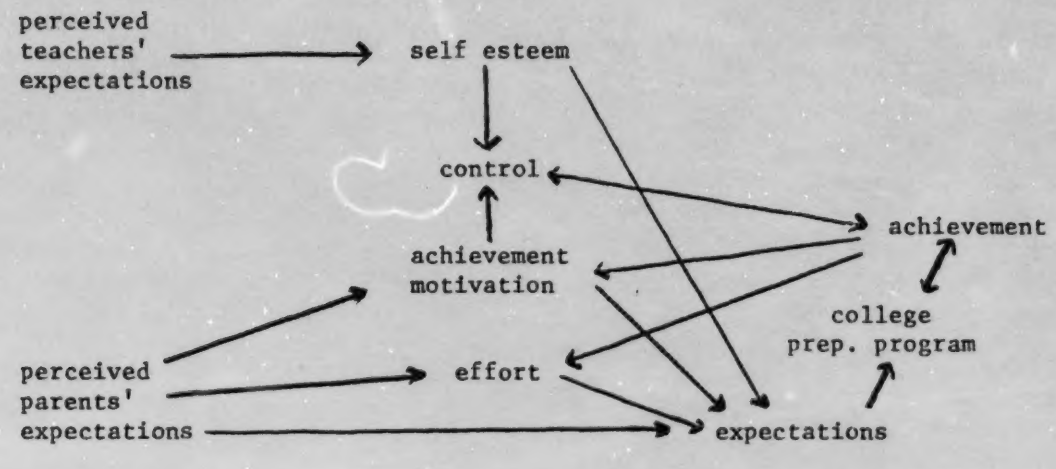

Student Characteristics
Instruction
Learning Outcomes
Cognitive Entry Behavior
Learning task(s)
Level & Type of Activity
Rate of Learning
Affective Entry Characteristics
Quality Instruction
Affective Outcomes

of the endogenous variables, except percent parents' and teachers' expectations. These inputs include measures of pupil demographics, family background, geographic stability, peer group characteristics, teachers' characteristics, and other school characteristics. Stated quite generally we investigate the empirical relationships among the outputs and attempt to determine the effect of each input on each output. We estimate the models by two stage least squares. In order to estimate this complex model we require the large sample base available only in the Equality of Educational Opportunity survey. We are currently testing and validating the model using data from the National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972. These data allow us not only to test the model but to investigate the relationships among the various school outcomes and success in post secondary education and employment. We begin with a discussion of the estimated relationships among the endogenous variables and later discuss the effects of the exogenous variables.

The following figures illustrate the estimated relationships among the outputs for Asian Americans, Puerto Ricans and blacks. The lines with arrowheads indicate positive, significant (at the 0.05 level for a one-sided alternative) second stage regression coefficients except for the one from college preparatory program to effort for Puerto Ricans and the one from expectations to effort for blacks which indicate negative, significant coefficients.

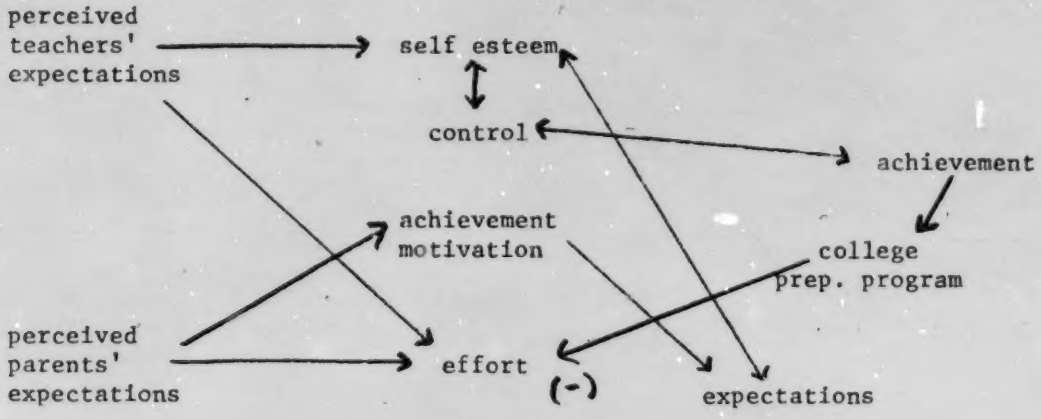
These figures show that similarities and differences exist in the learning processes for Asian, black, and Puerto Rican American twelfth grade students. The variable most often stressed by educators and the

Figure 3



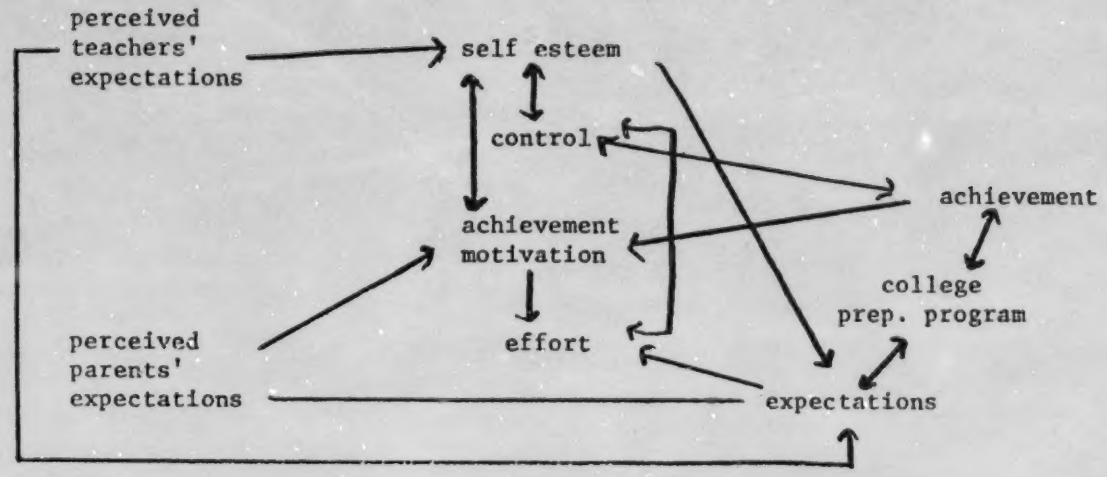
ASIAN AMERICANS

Figure 4



PUERTO RICAN AMERICANS

Figure 5



BLACK AMERICANS

public, academic achievement, depends for all groups on a student's belief in his ability to control his environment. The importance of control for achievement suggests that in order to increase achievement a student should believe he is able to determine his future successes and failures--a belief that has been particularly difficult for minorities to realize given the structural conditions of our society. Perhaps teachers may at least increase "in school" control by allowing more student control of the learning process and focus on the strengthening of student problem solving skills. Individualized, self paced mastery--learning might allow each student to feel in control of the learning situation and thus positively affect his achievement. Achievement, in turn, affects control which suggests that achievement promotes a sense of mastery over the determination of one's successes and failures. Thus, schools can have an affect on a student's sense of control given often overwhelming external constraints, if they improve achievement. (For a fuller analysis of the determinats of sense of control among inner city children Boardman et al. (1977a). This paper includes an analysis of classroom behavior that promotes a sense of control among urban children.)

Self esteem and motivation, affective variables often emphasized in compensatory educational programs, have no direct effect on achievement for any group. It has been thought that these affective variables and achievement are jointly determined (see for example Purkey, 1970). As a consequence educators have implemented strategies to improve children's self esteem and motivation on the assumption that higher self esteem and motivation will directly improve academic achievement. Our research, however suggests that such strategies will not directly increase achievement. These results obtain for twelfth grade students and different

relationships may exist among these variables for younger children, who have been the major focus of compensatory education. Of course, given the uncertainty concerning the importance of educational outputs for future life chances, educators may wish to increase self esteem and motivation--in addition to or irrespective of achievement.

The role of participation in a college preparatory program in this model differs among the groups. Participation in such programs appears to benefit Asian and black achievement but has no significant effect on Puerto Rican achievement. The negative effect of participation in such programs for Puerto Rican motivation is somewhat discouraging for educators. However, while these relationships do not necessarily deny the importance of academic programs for Puerto Rican students they suggest that such programs do not equally benefit students from different cultural backgrounds and may suggest the necessity for programmatic change. Participation in such programs increases black students' expectations.

While the achievement of Asian and black students affects their motivation, Puerto Rican achievement does not affect their motivation. Asian American students view their achievement as a direct reason to continue to work hard in school and to want to achieve. The achievement of black students increases their aspirations but does not directly affect their effort. Earlier research compared the achievement levels of these groups (Boardman, 1973) and found that Asian American students achieved significantly higher than did black or Puerto Rican students. Past experiences of high or low achievement in school may explain the different relationships. Asian American students possess a longer tradition of academic achievement and therefore may more readily perceive a causal relationship between achievement and motivation.

Perceived teachers' and parents' expectations are important variables in the educational process of all groups. Teachers appear to be important for the development of self esteem while parents are important for their child's motivation and expectations. Thus teachers and parents assume important but different roles in the education of children.

This examination of the relationships among these educational outputs suggests that for all three groups the teacher can play an important role in affecting a student's achievement, because students evaluate their self esteem and sense of control in light of their perceptions of their teachers' expectations. Self esteem affects sense of control which, in turn, affects achievement. Programs and practices should be developed conceptually around these causal links.

While this examination of the relationship among the educational outputs suggests that some strategies are better than others, our analysis of the effects of individual, home and school inputs on the educational outputs may be more directly relevant to policymakers. Such an analysis enables the policymaker to decide which inputs he may wish to alter based on his preferences for each output and given the constraints he faces. (Boardman, 1978)

As previously stated we examine the effects of forty-eight demographic, home background, student composition, teacher, and school characteristics on each educational output. We examine the direct effect (structural form) and the total effect (reduced form) of each exogenous variable on each output; the total effect equals the direct effect plus indirect effects via other endogenous variables. In the

following discussion we summarize some of the most interesting and consistent total effects.

Demographic and Home Background Variables

Both twelfth grade black and Puerto Rican boys possess higher achievement than do girls. Sex differences are insignificant for the achievement of Asian students. However for all three groups girls work harder and have a greater sense of control, which may result from their ability to control their social environment.

Socioeconomic status and information in the home are consistently positive for the outputs of all groups. Another home variable, reading before school, is important for the educational outputs of black and Puerto Rican American students but insignificant for Asian American students. For all groups residential stability is positive for the educational outcomes.

Student Composition Variables

The average socioeconomic status of students in the school positively affects the achievement of black and Puerto Rican American students but is insignificant for Asian American achievement. The results for the racial composition of the school, which elicits considerable concern from parents, have small and inconsistent effects on the school outputs for Asian and Puerto Rican American students. However, for black students a school which has neither a minority nor a majority of white students is the worst racial mix for achievement. At the same time, however, integrated schools (30-70% White) increase black students effort, expectations and self esteem. While these results offer no single strategy for school desegregation, they do suggest that on this issue it is desegregation by class rather than by race that is important, particularly for the achievement of black and Puerto Rican American students.

Teacher Variables

Teacher's verbal ability is important for the achievement of all groups, however, high teacher verbal ability may lower the aspirations and expectations of black students. The number of pupils per class (inverse of class size), a hard fought issue of teacher's unions, was generally unimportant across all groups. Experienced teachers positively affected the educational outputs of black students but were unimportant for Asian and Puerto Rican American students. Asian American students who have female teachers have higher achievement and aspirations but teacher sex was unimportant for black and Puerto Rican American students. White teachers increased achievement and locus of control of black and Puerto Rican American students and increased the demonstrated motivation of Puerto Rican American students.

At this stage this research is more descriptive than prescriptive. Our results suggest that educators should view the process of education as a set of interrelated outputs and that the relationships among these outputs may differ across racial and ethnic groups. The complexity and variabilities of the educational process among minority groups indicates that educators cannot assume that school resources similarly affect certain minority groups or equally affect educational variables. This complexity and variability may account for the rather mixed results from many of the recent educational programs for minority group children. With an increasing cultural awareness in education must come an increased understanding of the similarities and differences of the process of education for racial and ethnic groups. In part III we discuss research which bears on the process of education for poor and low achieving inner city children.

III. Effective School Resources and Strategies for Poor and Low Achieving Students

Introduction

Any research design involves a choice among many conflicting objectives. These objectives include precision of data, ability to control for variables that are not of immediate interest but may affect the experiment or outputs, and sampling considerations. If one samples from a small homogenous sub-group of the population, the results of a study can only be generalized to that particular sub-group, but one may be able to generalize to that sub-group with considerable precision. If one samples from a larger group of the population, the results may be generalized to a larger group, but, if there really are differences among that population, the precision of the predictions and generalizations will decline. By differences we mean that certain groups react to a variable in one way while other groups react to the same variable in a slightly different way. Typically, psychologists sample from a small sub-group of the population but control for few variables. Contrastingly, economists generally sample from a larger population and control for more variables. The economists' approach is preferable as long as each person in the sample reacts in the same way to the numerous critical variables that affect educational outputs. In other words, the economists approach is preferred if the educational process is similar for each sub-group in the sample. Clearly, not everybody reacts to certain stimuli in the same way. In the previous section we argued that different racial and ethnic groups experienced different educational processes. We may also hypothesize that low achieving children have different educational processes than high achieving children.

When we say that the educational process differs for different groups we mean that the parameters of the model differ from one group to another. For example, for high achieving children teacher's experience may make little difference but for low achieving children teacher's experience may make considerable difference. What we are saying here is that in a linear model that is estimated separately for high achievers and separately for low achievers, the slope of the teacher's experience variable is much higher in the model for low achievers than it is in the model for high achievers.

If one believes that there are different slopes for different groups for all of the variables, the only way to proceed is to estimate a separate model for each group. However, if one believes that only a few of the slopes differ among certain groups and that many of the slopes are the same for all pupils, the model can be estimated using only one equation and using interaction terms. Both types of analysis are called covariance analysis; it is a simple extension of analysis of variance in which slopes as well as intercepts are allowed to vary.

In the following two sections we first review the literature that has focussed on poor, urban children. In fact, most of the literature on education production functions has sampled from this population. Thus it is difficult to contrast these results with results of studies that have sampled from middle-class suburban children and rural children. Since you are well aware of most of the published literature on poor, urban children we shall focus on two unpublished articles in this area. It is our belief that when these articles are published they will constitute some of the most definitive work in this area, and so it is

particularly useful to know the results of these studies at this time. In the following section we review all of the research that has identified differences in the educational process for low and high achievers; there are only three articles in this area.

Models of the Educational Process for Poor, Urban Children

In this section we review two unpublished articles:

The first article by Barbara Phillips (1978) studies the vocabulary achievement and reading achievement of black students in Gary, Indiana. She examined students in grades 1 through 6 and had about 200 observations per grade level. These data were collected as part of the federally funded Negative Income Tax Experiment, although only 50%-60% of the families received negative income tax payments. Over half of the families were female headed and the average family income was about $6700 per annum. Thus the sample may be considered to be representative of many poor urban families.

Phillips' model took the form of an educational production function. The dependent variable was a measure of achievement at the end of a grade (A_t) and the explanatory variables included an achievement measure at the end of the previous grade, (A_{t-1}), demographic characteristics (D), a vector of home characteristics (H), a vector of school characteristics (S), a vector of peer-group or schoolmate characteristics (P) and a vector of teacher characteristics (T):

$$A_t = a + bA_{t-1} + D'c + H'd + S'f + P'g + T'h + e \qquad (1)$$

where e represents an error term that is assumed to be independent of all explanatory variables in the model.

The general form of this production function is identical to that used in other studies including those by Hanushek (1970), Murnane (1975), Summers and Wolfe (1977), and Armor et al. (1977). In such a model the parameters d, f, g, and h measure the effect of a one unit change in the corresponding explanatory variable at time t-1 on achievement at time t. This hypothetical unit change must remain in effect throughout the entire time period from time t-1 to time t. For a fuller discussion of this interpretation, for the interpretation of the other coefficients and for the implicit assumptions that justify the model described by equation 1, see Boardman and Murnane (1977).

The distinguishing characteristic of Phillips' research, however, is the teacher characteristics. Most production function studies use surrogate measures of teachers, such as, teachers verbal ability or quality of undergraduate institution, experience, salary, age, race, sex, etc. Phillips research draws on the process-product literature by Brophy and Evertson (1976), Soar (1973), and Stallings (1975) and to a less extent the empirical work of Hanushek (1970), Armor et al. (1977), Good and Grouws (1977), Traub et al. (1973), Rosenshine and Furst (1971), Rosenshine (1976). She measures five classroom management and control variables, five teaching technique dimensions, and a teacher attitude. These variables are included in the vector T of equation 1. They are constructed from a questionnaire which drew heavily on the work of Brophy and Evertson (1976), rather than being recorded by an observer. Thus, they reflect teacher attitudes more than actual behavior. However, Taylor, Christie and Platts (1970) found that self-report descriptions of effective teaching behavior predicts certain types of teacher behavior.

The five classroom management and control variables are:

1. Instruction is "pitched" to middle achievers rather than to low or high achievers in the classroom.
2. Students repeat poor work, which may reflect a demanding and business-like attitude by the teacher. Also, it suggests that teachers are providing students with feedback.
3. Teacher circulates around the room and provides feedback during seatwork.
4. Severe disruptions occur frequently.
5. Teachers discourage student movement about the classroom.

The teaching technique variables are:

1. Teachers believe that making the lesson dramatic results in making the students miss the point of the lesson.
2. Teachers frequently praises publicly a student in an attempt to motivate others.
3. Percentage of time that teachers devoted to individuals, small groups or to the whole class.
4. Percentage of time teachers devoted to lectures, demonstrations, or questions and discussions.
5. Percentage of time teachers provide reading instruction within context of whole word approach rather than phonics, word attack.

Finally, she includes a teacher attitude variable which reflects whether the teacher agrees that her job is primarily one of teaching and explaining subject matter.

The results of this analysis provide some indications for improving the vocabulary and reading achievement of poor, urban black children, but

the results are by no means overwhelming. As expected, by far the most significant and consistent finding is that the achievement of children in the prior year correlated most highly with achievement in the present year, after controlling for all other variables. This variable is the only one that is significant for all years and for both measures of achievement. The t-statistic for this variable ranges from 4.45 to 12.75. It is always the most significant variable in an equation. A surprising result is that the pupil demographic variables including the student's sex, age, and number of children in the family, and the home background variables including family income and education of mother are rarely significant. Two measures of the other students in the school--the average reading score in the school and the percent indigent--are sometimes significant. While the former variable is positive, as expected, the latter variable is also positive, which is unexpected. The latter result may be due to multicollinearity problems. In any case, both are included as control variables and no causal interpretation should be accorded to them.

We now turn to the results for the teacher's variables. Each one of them is an indicator of the teacher's quality in the classroom and many of these variables are correlated. Not too much significance should be ascribed to one variable or another; it is more appropriate to consider them as a group. Table 1 which shows the number of variables that are significant for each of the three types of variables: (i) classroom management and control (5 variables), (ii) teaching technique (6 variables)* and (iii) teacher attitude 1 variable). The entries

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*There are six teaching technique variables because the percentage of time that teachers devote to individual, small group or whole group discussions is trichotomous.

show the number of variables that are significant at the 0.05 level for a two tailed test of significance at each grade level; the top rows apply to vocabulary with the bottom rows apply to reading.

The table shows clearly that few of the variables are significant; this result applies particularly for grades 1 through 3. Of the total number of 72 potentially significant variables that are entered in the regressions for grades 1 through 3, only 7 are significant. Since the level of significance is at the 5 percent level for a two tailed test, this result suggests that the number of significant variables is roughly equal to what we would expect with random data. For grades 4 through 6 the model does slightly better.

Now consider some of the variables themselves. Four variables are never significant or are significant in only one equation; these are: severe disruptions occur frequently, student movement around the room is discouraged, dramatic lessons are effective, and the percentage of time the teacher uses whole word approach. We can essentially rule out these variables as potential sources of obtaining major improvements in the achievement of poor, inner-city black children.

We now discuss the variables that show some promise for effective change. If instruction is pitched to middle achievers this has a significant effect on the vocabulary and reading achievement of fourth graders, but a negative effect on the reading achievement of first graders. Students' repetition of poor work has a positive effect on the vocabulary achievement of fifth and sixth graders. The teacher circulating around the classroom during seatwork has a positive effect on the vocabulary of third graders, and the reading of fourth graders,

Table 1

VOCABULARY

Teacher Variables	Grade Level 1	2	3	4	5	6	Maximum
Classroom Management and Control	0	1	1	1	1	2	5
Teaching Techniques	0	0	2	2	2	3	6
Attitude	1	0	0	0	1	0	1

READING

Teacher Variables	Grade Level 1	2	3	4	5	6	Maximum
Classroom Management and Control	1	0	0	2	0	1	5
Teaching Techniques	1	0	0	2	0	0	6
Attitude	0	0	0	0	0	1	1

but a negative effect on the reading of sixth graders. High amount of public praise has negative effects on the vocabulary and reading of fourth graders and the vocabulary of fifth graders, but a negative effect on the vocabulary of sixth graders. As far as how teachers use their time we have the following results: first grade reading achievement is improved by individualized instruction, at the second grade no variables are significant, at the third grade vocabulary achievement is made worse by using sub-groups, at the fourth grade it doesn't make any difference, at the fifth grade individualized work improves the vocabulary and reading, at the sixth grade using sub-groups reduces the vocabulary. The percentage of time teacher uses demonstrations increases the vocabulary of third grade students but reduces the vocabulary and reading of fourth grade students. Finally, the teacher viewing her job as explaining subject matter increases the vocabulary of first and fifth grade students and the reading of sixth grade students. All other variables are insignificant.

Unfortunately these results provide no clear guides to policy. Few variables are significant in grades 1 through 3, some variables are almost always insignificant. Some variables that are more significant than others are positive in some equations and negative in others. The most consistent results are the following: making students repeat poor work has a positive effect on the vocabulary of fifth and sixth grade children, high amount of public praise seems dertimental to reading and vocabulary, particularly for fourth and fifth grade children, but not for sixth grade children. Using sub-groups is, in general, worse than using whole group discussions, which in general, is worse than using individualized instruction. Finally, teachers who believe that

their job is primarily one of explaining subject matter seem to do a better job than other teachers. While these results should not be taken too literally, they do provide pointers for where improvements may be made. They are all indicators of what makes a good teacher and far more research needs to be done.

The second unpublished article we wish to comment upon in this section is by Anita Summers, Michael Kean and others; it is a joint research effort which involves the Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia and the School District of Philadelphia. This research is presently under progress. (This section of the paper is not yet available.)

Summers et al. use a model similar to equation 1, but there is a slight difference in the formulation. Suppose we define $b^* = 1 - b$ then $b = 1 - b^*$. If we substitute this equation into equation 1 we have:

$$ACH_E = a + (1-b^*)\, ACH_{E-1} + D'c + H'd + S'f + P'g + T'h + e \quad (2)$$

Rearranging gives: $$\Delta ACH_E = a - b^*\, ACH_{E-1} + D'c + H'd + S'f + P'g + T'h + e \quad (3)$$

where, $\Delta ACH_E = ACH_E - ACH_{E-1}$:

High and Low Ability

In this section we review three pieces of research which recognize that the educational process may differ for students of different ability. Research suggests that low achieving students do not possess the requisite social skills for effective classroom participation (Cartledge & Milburn, 1978). Students must know both form as well as content, specifically they need personal interaction skills and task-related skills in order to achieve (Hops & Cobb, 1973). Such skills include attending, remaining on task, volunteering answers, complying

with teacher requests, and interacting with teachers and peers about school work. Techniques for teaching social skills to children include positive reinforcement and/or social modelling. (See Sheppard, Shank & Wilson, 1973; Seift & Spivack, 1975; Stephens, 1977 for guidelines and methods for teaching social skills). Children must be assessed very early for social skill development and techniques of modelling and differential reinforcement must be included in the training of teachers.

If one takes the model described by equation 1 there are essentially two ways to proceed:

One way is to suppose that all coefficients differ for students with different levels of prior achievement. Suppose that there are two groups: low achievers and not low achievers then we could write:

$$A_t = a_L + b_L A_{t-1,L} + D_L' e_L + H_L' d_L + S_L' f_L + P_L' g_L + T_L' h_L + e_L \quad (4a)$$

$$A_t = a_G + b_G A_{t-1,G} + D_G' e_G + H_G' d_G + S_G' f_G + P_G' g_G + T_G' h_G + e_G \quad (4b)$$

equation 4a applies for low achievers and equation 4b applies for other students. In this model it is assumed that all coefficients differ between high and low achievers. In this case one can simply run two separate regressions and estimate all the parameters. Alternatively one can combine the two models into a single model and run only one regression and obtain the same results:

$$A_t = a_L + b_L A_{t-1,L} + D_L' e_L + H_L' d_L + S_L' f_L + P_L' g_L + T_L' h_L + a_G + b_G A_{t-1,G} + D_G' e_G + H_G' d_G + S_G' f_G + P_G' g_G + T_G' h_G + e \quad (5)$$

Alternatively one may believe that some of the coefficients are the same for both low achievers and other students while some coefficients

differ. Suppose one postulates that all coefficients are the same for both groups except for the coefficients of the teacher characteristics. In this case one would estimate the following model:

$$A_t = a + bA_{t-1} + b'c + H'd + S'f + P'g + T_i'h_1 + T_i'h_2 + e \quad (6)$$

Conceptually, this type of model is the one used by Murnane (1975) and Summers and Wolfe (1977). The other article we review by Boardman and Phillips (1976) is an extension of the model represented by equation 4.

Murnane (1975) examined two cohorts of black children in the New Haven schools; one was in the third grade between 1970 and 1971, the other was in the second grade 1970-1971 and in the third grade between 1971-1972. He used two measures of achievement: reading and arithmetic scores on Metropolitan Achievement Tests. Again, the most significant variable is the achievement score in the previous year. Variables that reflect the demographics of the child and his home environment, including sex, days present, subsidized housing, number of rental units on the block, and the percentage of children living with female headed family, are either always insignificant or inconsistent. One of the most consistent findings is that the principal's evaluation of the teacher correlates highly with achievement of students, after controlling for other variables. This result suggests that there are some observable teacher characteristics that affect student achievement. Student turnover has mixed effects, as does class size.

When the model is expanded to include interaction terms with prior achievement levels, Murnane (1975) finds that the above results hold except for student turnover. He finds that high student turnover impedes the reading progress of high achievers, has no significant effect on the

reading of middle achievers and has inconclusive effects on the reading of low achievers. He conjectures that teachers compensate for the time lost in dealing with transient students by spending less time with those children who can "best" afford the loss, i.e., high achievers.

In the second part of his study Murnane (1975) examines certain teacher characteristics including teacher's sex, race, marital status, years of experience, whether they had an M. A. degree, whether the teacher majored in education at the undergraduate level. Teachers experience and sex had the most consistent effects. Teachers improved over the first few years of teaching but did not become more effective after five years. Also, male teachers were more effective than female teachers, particularly for math, and black teachers were more effective than white teachers. The other variables were usually insignificant. Finally, it was found that when interaction terms between teacher sex and initial achievement level and between teacher race and initial achievement level were included they were insignificant. That is, the above results for teacher's sex and race obtain independently of the initial achievement level of the child.

The second study by Summers and Wolfe (1975) examines 627 students in elementary schools, 553 students in grades six through 8, and 716 students in senior high schools. All of these schools are in Philadelphia and the students were observed during the years 1970-1971 or 1971-1972. The elementary and junior high schools represent a random sample from among the Philadelphia Schools while the senior high schools contain higher proportions of low income and black students than average. Similar to Murnane (1975) the model used by Summers and Wolfe is equivalent to that represented by equation 6.

Summers and Wolfe summarize their results clearly. Their words are reproduced here:

> "All types of students at all levels of schooling experience larger rates of growth in achievement if they are attending more, and if unexcused absences and lateness are minimized. Regarding these attendance features as important signals and effectively reacting to them will result in increased learning. Reducing the amount of serious disruptions in schools will increase learning--resources directed to this problem has a direct payoff.
>
> All types of students in elementary school do better if they are taught by teachers who graduated from higher-rated colleges, if they are in a school with a 40 to 60 percent Black student body, if they are in classes of 33 or less, and if they are in a school with more high achievers.
>
> All types of students in junior high school do better if they go to a school which is part of an elementary school, if they have social studies teachers who graduated from higher-rated colleges, if they have mathematics teachers who were trained in the post-Sputnik New Math era, if they are in classes of 31 or less, and, again, if they are in a school with more high achievers.
>
> All types of students in senior high school do better if they are in smaller schools where dropouts are less of a problem.
>
> Disadvantaged as well as advantaged students are helped by all these factors, but they can be helped even further by particular types of resources being targeted to them.
>
> Black students with high IQs would benefit if home and school would allow them to achieve as much as non-Black students with the same high IQ, especially in the early grades. Later on is too late--Black and non-Black students with the same third grade achievement levels grow at the same rate in the higher grades. Black students perform better in smaller elementary schools and in junior highs with larger Black populations.
>
> Low-income students respond particularly well to elementary school teachers who graduated from higher-rated colleges and to junior high classes smaller than 32.
>
> Low achieving students are particularly responsive to certain school inputs. In elementary school, low achievers do better if they are in classes with less than 28 students,

if they have new teachers, and if they are in schools with more high achievers. In junior high, this group performs better with new English teachers and with more high achievers in the school. And in senior high this group responds to English classes that have less than 27 students and to smaller schools. Presumably, at every level, a redesigned remedial education program--since the present one does not seem to be helping low achievers--would be helpful.

High achievers do best with experienced elementary school teachers and junior high English teachers, junior high social studies teachers from higher-rated colleges, more library books, and with senior high English teachers with higher English exam scores. If they are in an environment with less disruption and fewer dropouts, and if they move less during their junior high years, they do better."

The final study we review is by Boardman and Phillips (1976). These authors authors reanalyses the Coleman data, but estimate separate models for high and low achievers. Thus, it is similar to equations 4 except (i) they have no prior measure of achievement because the data are cross-sectional and (ii) they postulate a simultaneous equations model, that is, they postulate the educational process as one that consists of multiple interrelated outputs. The basic model for different ethnic groups has been discussed in Section 2 of this report.

The conclusions of this research are as follows:

"Although we find the same general configuration of relationships among the endogeneous variables for the high and low achiever models, our results are consistent with the psychological evidence of personality differences between these groups. Perhaps the most interesting of our results in this regard is the estimated effect of control upon achievement among high achievers. We also find that the model for low achievers is much less complex than that for high achievers. These results are potentially useful in compensatory programs for low achievers.

Our most interesting results for the exogenous variables concern the effects of school and teacher characteristics. These results have implications for educational policy. It should be noted that our data are for twelfth grade. The policy implications discussed here may not apply at all grade levels.

We find an ordinal interaction between the average verbal ability of teachers in the school and the achievement of low and high achievers. High achievers benefit more. This result suggests that the average level of achievement in a school could be enhanced by a re-distribution of school personnel in which teachers with higher verbal ability were assigned to classes of high achievers. Under this policy the achievement of high achievers would be enhanced more than that of low achievers would be diminished. Let us set aside the question of whether it is advisable to increase average achievement at the expense of a greater variance in achievement. The policy has detrimental effects for other student outcomes. Our results suggest that such a policy would decrease the achievement motivation of high achievers and diminish the sense of control as well as the achievement of low achievers. Clearly, such a policy involves complex trade-offs.

We find that having experienced teachers in the school results in greater achievement among high achievers but has no significant effect on low achievers. However, we also find that having experienced teachers adversely affects the internal control of high achievers. While this result occurs in a single model, and must be considered tentative, it does suggest that a policy of re-distribution of teaching personnel in which high achievers were assigned to more experienced teachers and low achievers to less experienced teachers must be approached with caution, apart from any effect on low achievers.

We find that the number of teachers per pupil affects achievement among low achievers but not among high. Our results suggest that a policy in which low achievers were assigned to relatively smaller classes and high achievers to relatively larger classes would increase the average level of achievement in the school and decrease the variance in achievement in the school. However, we also find that more teachers per pupil positively affects achievement motivation among high achievers. While this result is tentative, it again suggests that caution is warranted in consideration of policies on re-distribution of school resources."

SOME GENERAL NOTES ON THE URBAN SCHOOL REALITY

Diversity of practice and conflicting ideas that come from differing schools of educational thought, from the advocates of this or that panacea; heralded by new slogans and programs and old ones clothed in new rhetoric; --all of these forces and the effects of social and political pressures, as these shift from time to time, often result in educational structures and processes of unclear and confused form and function.

There is much debate, and much that is written about what is and what should be, yet the evidence of significant improvement, particularly in the urban environment, is sparse. Currently, shrinking enrollments, increasing resistance to provide adequate dollars, and a loss of confidence in public education has exacerbated the already critical condition of urban schools. The Back-To-Basics Movement, Proficiency Testing, and Competency Based Instructional Programs seem to reflect dissatisfaction with the non-traditional forms of educational practice that abounded during the sixties, and a greater urgency to respond to the public demand for higher levels of achievement in the basic skills.

Boards of Education, school system superintendents and their staffs are caught in a vortex of influences from parents, the general public, from business leaders, from civic advocate groups and legislative and political sources. The dilemma of making waves or not making them exposes decision makers to conflict situations with one or more of their constituencies. The problem, even for those most committed to finding better solutions to the complexities of urban education, is to juggle

balls in the air all at one time and to do it so expertly as not to allow one or more to fall to the ground or to crash into the others. How can a reasonable, constructive, well balanced and feasible educational process and structure be created that take into account desegregation, improvement of achievement levels in the basic skills, accountability, adjustments for individual differences, discipline, mental health, teaching effectiveness, equality of educational opportunity, the needs of the handicapped, bi-lingual education, career education, moral education, sex education, and education for responsible citizenship? Not easy, yet these and many other programmatic and organizational requirements have become accepted as normal parts of the operation of public education.

Changes are undoubtedly taking place, but there is abundant evidence that reform has occurred only minimally. The results of practices aimed to produce change in urban schools have thus far been discouraging. Yet, except for those who believe that public education was never public and that it was consciously designed to support the kind of fractioned society in which we live, and despite all of its existent inadequacies and its unfulfilled promises, there is, in this writer's view no viable alternative to mass public education, particularly for the urban poor.

The more recent interest of economists and sociologists in the problems of education may serve to introduce more disciplined thinking in the search for the selection of priorities, and for the best use of available resources, - human and material. There are those who distrust these approaches, fearing that they may lead to a mechanistic view of education, thus denying what the humanists hold up as guiding lights and as important values

When one considers that the Federal Government alone has spent more than 30 billion dollars since 1965 on research and development and on categorical aid to schools without much of enduring improvement to show for it, there looms a large challenging question mark and there develops a cloud of intellectual despair. The massive effort (since 1965), born of political expediency, and clothed in defensible educational values and objectives, resulted in "no significant differences." As a result there are some today who, by their loss of confidence in public education, are jumping on new bandwagons, substituting one new program for another discarded one. This can only lead to the wasteful repetition of the cycle of great hope, much activity, overstated goals, perhaps initial signs of improvement, emergence of the hardlook, disillusionment, abandoment, and the birth of another great hope launched on another bandwagon.

Reasons for the condition of doing much and accomplishing little are easier to speculate on than to correct. "Take the money and run" has been all too typical among school systems in garnering the Federal manna. Planning has been hurried and poor; implementation has in many ways been faulty; and as for tight processes of management, monitoring, financial accounting, and evaluation, forget it. Planning in many instances was done so poorly that it could only be charitably characterized as a few cuts above nothing at all. In a majority of instances, in a study done by the Rand Corporation indicated, "that most educational innovations are implemented poorly or not at all" and further "Federal categorical aid programs (ESEA, Titles III and VII; Vocational Education Act, Part D; and the Right to Read Program) designed to introduce and spread innovative practices in public schools supports the finding (Rand) and helps account

for the differential success in implementation" and "In the majority of cases...the project as implemented bore little resemblance to the project as conceived, or the project broke down altogether."

The times are changing. The dynamic activity of the 60's has been converted to "holding the line"; response to new ideas, affected by pressures operating within or outside of school systems have slowed down and lost vitality; controversial ideas and programs are either being starved out or dumped, --all in all the times have changed.

One of the prevalent delusions in the movement for educational improvement has been the notion that if successful practices are found, their dissemination would nourish seeds of replication and utilization among those in similar situations facing similar problems. This did not happen despite the distribution of tons of descriptive materials, often done up in slick style with appealing photographs of children demonstrating the "successful practice"; and despite countless meetings, conferences, seminars, workshops, and in-service courses. A simple, yet surprisingly obvious fact was forgotten, --namely that what has worked within the complexities and uniqueness of a given situation, cannot be exported and expected to work within different complexities and uniquenesses of another situation, even when both superficially seem alike. So much for the much used techniques of dissemination, --they simply have not done what many well intentioned persons in the vanguard of educational change/innovation/ reform believed they could do.

The mass of published educational literature has not been particularly helpful to the practitioners, --teachers, principals, and superintendents. Much that this writer has reviewed describes or explains; or posits theoretical issues and concepts; or throws the spotlight of public policy

on the condition of public education as it exists or what is should become; or relates the disciplines of research and investigation in the social sciences to education; or advocates new or newly garbed curriculum designs or administrative structures. All to the good and not to be discouraged, but a nagging thought persists. What about the large numbers of children in the large urban centers, most of them impoverished and whose learning deficiencies are well known; who resist and reject the offerings of public education, particularly on the secondary level, who are not equipped to assume the responsibilities of intelligent citizenship; and who are not prepared and even if prepared cannot be absorbed in the labor market. What needs to be done, both short and long range? What is of most immediate importance? What of the long range view? How? By whom? In what order?

This writer's experience in teaching, curriculum development, supervision, and administration, all of it in the Philadelphia Public Schools, has left him with less that he is sure of and much more that he is either unsure of, or is at a loss to explain. The best that this writer can do, in this section of this paper, is to lay out for consideration and judgment what his experience indicates are factors and conditions that hold out promise and hope; and to raise questions and describe problems for which better solutions are needed. Let the unnecessary be said, there is neither a magic formula that will open the way to a quick upswing of better results nor is it true that all the efforts thus far expended in urban school systems have been misguided, misapplied, or non-productive. This however is necessary to say, the massive proportions of the unsolved problems in relation to the results that have been achieved should give no one cause for comfort or complacency.

This writer believes that if significant increases can be achieved in raising levels of competence in the basic skills of reading and arithmetic among urban poor children, public attitudes regarding public education will be improved, support of public education's needs will increase, and related curricular and programmatic components and other offerings in the total educational scheme will benefit.

Inconclusive as educational research seems to be there are some findings that deserve attention, either as points of departure for continued study or as ideas to be tested by those who are most directly involved in instructional and administrative functions. For example, studies of teacher effectiveness indicate that optimum levels are reached by those who conduct their teaching style in a businesslike manner, who structure the studen's use of time with great care, and who maintain a relaxed classroom atmosphere. Some absurdly obvious but not necessarily prevailing practices are supported by students of teacher behavior, for example: 1. Students learn what they are taught; 2. Learning rates are particularly affected by student time on task and by reduced inattentiveness; 3. Instruction directed to the content of test results in higher test scores; 4. Systematic instructional strategy produces the best results; and 5. Immediate acknowledgement of student progress helps to raise achievement levels.

Of particular importance in the education of poor minority children are these directional signals: 1. Instructional material should be given in smaller, more structured units; 2. A teacher should keep his/her attention focused on a student who is having difficulty until the correct response is forthcoming; 3. Prompt, if not immediate feedback, helps to secure a better student response; 4. Peer tutoring is

not effective, yet some writers say it is (try it both ways and assess the results); 6. Individualization of the use and nature of instructional materials; 7. Teachers should demonstrate their belief in high expectancy for student learning; and 8. Control of student behavior "should be used judiciously and sparingly so as to support and enhance the operation of authority based mechanisms, not supplant or interfere with them."

The quality and quantity of educational achievement, overall operational effectiveness, and the interrelationship of personnel who work in schools and school systems are affected by the nature of the existing organizational processes. Some of these will be identified in the following material and will be presented and described, as perceived, by typical administrators and teachers who face the difficult problems of serving the needs of children in the urban environment.

1. Budgetary

Individual school budgets are controlled by the budgets of the governing school system. Typically the school systems, in turn, is controlled by the limitations of laws and codes; local tax support; general and special state reimbursements; and Federal allocations, mostly limited to categorical expenditures for specific programs.

In many states reimbursement additives are provided to local school districts for services to the handicapped, health services, transportation, vocational education, and to provide services for children who need special help in raising their achievement levels In the basic skills.

Contrary to the system of a decade or two ago of depending on the state to provide fairly equal state reimbursement allocations for each

enrolled child, there is a growing tendency to consider and to take into account the concept of equity in computing state appropriations to individual school districts. Briefly, the difference between equality and equity is the difference between a capitation allotment largely unaffected by variations in needs, (equality); and an allotment that is adjusted to meet unique conditions (equity). There is an increasing number of states that are moving away from using the local property tax as the major source of local support for school systems.

So much for a generalized background. However, for the purposes of this paper the essential question is: Does the chosen method of budgeting provide the best and most rational basis for meeting the educational needs of the highest priority within the limits of available resources for urban school districts?

The answer is neither yes nor no. Tradition, vested interests, social and political forces, the prevailing attitudes and expectations of the general public and of parents of children enrolled in the schools exert various distorting influences. The movement to establish equity of financial support is very important but thus far it has not gone far enough in providing support for the unique and usually expensive range of services required by large numbers of poor urban minority children. In this connection there arises the charge that schools, during the past three or four decades have undertaken to do too much of what should be the responsibility of the home and of other governmental and community agencies. Services such as health, transportation, counselling and guidance, and feeding are being challenged as indefensible items in school districts budgets. The rebuttal from the schools comes in the form of: "Without these services education could not go on"; or "If we don't do it, it won't be done".

Other responses to the need to bring the budgeting process closer to the operators of school programs have been the so called "Bottoms Up Budget Process", "Lump Sum Budgeting", and various forms of "Decentralized Budgeting". A few words about each:

1. "Bottoms Up Budget Process" assumes that there shall be an assessment of needs, a determination of priorities, and a system of evaluation derived at the grass roots of individual school operation by teachers, principals, and community leaders. This worthy idea has had limited success because of legal, contractual, financial, and mandated constraints and because the various distortions that shape or mis-shape total school system budgets, and to a lesser degree affect the individual school budgets.
2. "Lump Sum Budgeting," recently the subject of a National Urban Coalition Conference (1978) advocates an allocation of money to each school based upon a formula that takes into account special needs that require additional financial support. Here again the approach rests on the combined wisdom of the staff, administration, and community to determine what expenditures will produce the greatest good for the largest number of children in each school. This is a variation of "Bottoms Up," the difference being that in "Lump Sum" the total allocation is known in advance; in "Bottoms Up," the budget is constructed and the bill is presented and defended before the allocation authority.

In the view of this writer, "Lump Sum Budgeting" has much to commend it. The purity of implementation of this idea will depend on the usual, legal, contractual, and mandated constraints.

In both "Lump Sum" and "Bottoms Up" there is the necessity to engage all persons involved in the process in ongoing training that deals with problems of finance, evaluation, and the determination of educational priorities.

3. The concept of "Decentralized Budgeting," which includes efforts such as "Lump Sum" and "Bottoms Up" is also applied in various forms of Program Budgeting Systems; and in budget construction inputs submitted by the departments, georgraphic units; and supportive arms of large urban school systems.

2. Accountability

The turbulence of the 60's, the Civil Rights Movement, the complaints of employers, the growing loss of confidence in the public schools, particularly among parents of minority children; tight money; low achievement levels in the basic skills, --all of these have led to an increasing demand that all those involved in the educational process shall be held accountable for reasonable results. The "all those" include in addition to teachers and principals, school district administrators, members of Boards of Education, legislators, and parents and students.

Acceptance of the idea has trod a rocky road... Teachers suspect that the prime motive of accountability is to pave the way for capricious and arbitrary firings. Teachers also fear that they will be held accountable for forces and conditions over which they have no control. A reasonable, non-threatening system needs to be established, with appropriate safeguards for all concerned, and yet moving toward developing a more systematic means of improving the quality and amount of educational achievement.

Several states have already passed various forms of accountability laws. Proficiency Testing and Competency Based Curriculum are forms of accountability systems.

In the view of this writer, accountability systems need to be established through agreements reached by teachers, administrators, boards of education, and community representatives. They must be non-threatening, separated from formal service evaluations, done with a commitment to improvement, introduced in phases, and evaluated carefully.

3. Training of Personnel

Teachers of poor urban minority children need to have well developed technical skills but must also have strong commitment to the overall development of the children for whom they are responsible. The acquisition of the technical skills can be mastered by teachers through specific training, refreshed from time to time. Strong commitment results from a value system that controls and expresses behavior in terms of qualities of patience, flexibility, understanding, warmth, and hard work.

Pre-service training for teachers should be somewhat modelled after the early clinical experience of medical students. For students this could mean that during the first year in a college of education experience would be provided as an observer in an urban classroom; second year experience would involve the student as a part-time instructor of individuals and groups for remedial purposes; and third year experience as a full time intern teacher. The point here is that a growing depth of live experience closely related to necessary academic and professional training might serve to avoid the difficulties that many beginning urban teachers experience, resulting in frustration and often leading to resignation.

Continued training on the job is essential. In-service education in many forms has existed for a long time, in the past on a voluntary basis, more recently because of union contracts, on a paid basis. The evidence that positive differences in teaching and learning result from participation in in-service programs is either non-existent or is inconclusive. Recently, Federal Legislation and appropriation will make it possible for Teacher Centers to be established. These, it appears, will be largely organized and controlled by teacher organizations. This seems to be a reaction to the criticism that In-Service Education organized and controlled by school administrators has been largely ineffective. The establishment of Teacher Centers also implies a criticism of the effectiveness of the programs of Teachers' Colleges in the training of teachers. It will be interesting to study the operation of Teacher Centers and to evaluate if they can more adequately help teachers to cope with the problems of urban education.

4. Leadership Styles and Decision Making

Leadership styles and the decision making process as behavior characteristics are observable on all levels of school system organization and operation, --in classrooms; in schools; in school district sub-units; and in the school district as a whole. Exact description and analysis of each style cannot be made in accordance with a pre-established set of criteria or functions. The human variables interacting with the situational variables are infinite. There is no such attribute as consistency of leadership style, nor should there be, when one considers the widely different demands made upon the person whose role is leadership. It can be argued that leadership and decision making should be shared and that

"the leader" should not stand alone as the authority figure and the sole decision maker. This is a view which has much to commend it, so long as it does not result in ineffective decision making processes that stall needed action and movement.

Leadership style is a complex reflection of human characteristics, philosophy, values, experience, maturity, know-how, and the indefinable of indefinables - personality. The relative strengths, singly and in combination, determine how leadership function is a process and to what ends a product.

Leadership style cannot be copied. To do this would produce a weak facade that is bound to crack under stress or that in time would fall apart because of its expressed inconsistencies.

Lest there develop a mistaken notion from what has been said thus far, leaders not only react to the requirements of a given situation, their skill, ability and creativity must be demonstrated through the initiation, organization and implementation of ideas designed to add new dimensions of value for those who are being served, --students and all co-workers.

Leaders hardly ever have complete control of the forces that influence their decisions. There are laws and codes that command compliance. There are traditions that have developed within a school organization that if not respected can cause forms of dissension that can block movement toward desirable change. And there are factors such as the social, politican and economic views of power figures that leaders must know about, and must take into account in the process of decision making. Add to all of these special local interests, the

views from business and industry, the weight of public attitudes and expectations, and the strength of employee unions and you have an array of forces that comprise a significant set of constraints. However, to fold before these constraints is not leadership; to recognize them, to be fully and accurately informed about them, and to use them in ways that contribute to desirable educational goals is the essence of the act of leadership in today's world in schools and school systems.

Decision making can be facilitated (assumedly for good purposes) when some of the following dynamics are recognized and serve to influence the dynamics of the process, when appropriate to the requirements of decisions to be made. It should be understood, for example, that the greater distance (in terms of organizational level) between the decision maker (s) and those to be affected by the decision, the greater is the possibility of misinterpretation, misunderstanding, vitiation, and even of ignoring the decision. The more inclusive and extensive a decision, the greater is the necessity to involve the broad participation of the various strata of the organization. Decisions of major importance need to have the door left open for review and evaluation after a stipulated period to time. Too rigid decisions in the form of policies may affect an organization negatively if they remain in force for too long a period of time without re-assessment as to their relevancy.

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"MAMA TALKING TO PAPA UNDER THE TREE"

by

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During the last ten years, Educational Testing Service researcher, Dr. Virginia Shipman, has been conducting a longitudinal study on the first public school experiences of high and low achieving Black low socio-economic status children. The study focuses on two basic questions: What are the components of early education that facilitate or interfere with the cognitive, personal, and social development of children in this population? What are the environmental and background variables that moderate these effects, and how do these moderators produce their influence?

This presentation addresses one special finding of the study which provides another area of consideration in social science analysis of Black children's academic performance in public schools. According to Shipman and her associates, the educational level and goals of the child's mother were found to be particularly influential to the child's academic performance.

This paper supports Shipman's findings and invites a fuller exploration of the role of Black mothers from low socio-economic backgrounds in determining the academic path of their children in public schools. I began my discussion with a poetic tribute to Black Mamas and Black Papas.

The poem, "Mama Talking to Papa Under the Tree" was written for Dr. Wade W. Nobles in honor of his brilliant keynote presentation "Beyond Survival: The Proactive Role of Black Psychology in Enhancing Black Life," 1978 Conference of the Association of Black Psychologists, St. Louis, Missouri.

"Mama Talking To Papa Under The Tree"

You can't go nowhere without me
I'm it!
You may not know it
But, I'm it!
Your next son may come from my womb
Your next intellectual giant may suck at my breast
I AM your fertility cup
So fill me up, run me over, drink heartily
You can't go nowhere without me
I'm it!

Leah Gaskin Fitchue

Let us talk for a moment about these intellectual giants coming from Mama's and Papa's interaction under the tree. According to Professor Na'im Akbar, of the Department of Psychology at Norfolk State College, young Black intellectual giants do not differ from other intelligent forms of life. Akbar states that within all levels of life, the one pervading motif that is constant is the tendency that life forms have to preserve themselves. In studying the "life-survival" instinct in one cell organisms, Akbar concludes that there is an innate life maintenance process within all living forms. In describing the human being as the highest evolution of this self-preservative process,

Akbar encourages us to consider the notion that any behavior, therefore, which is intentionally self destructive - which is not intentionally life-maintaining - is abnormal behavior.

For the remainder of this presentation I will refer to the Black children from low socio-economic backgrounds identified with the work of Shipman and others as the"children of Akbar." Personally, I find this term more affirming than "poor Black children," or "disadvantaged children" which contribute to the myth of Black people's mental inferiority.

As you know, when the children of Akbar leave the wombs of their Mamas, they are like all infants, self-learners. Independent of our teaching, they follow our movements with their eyes, learn to turn over, and babble. Their aggressively curious minds learn to discriminate among taste, smells, sounds, and shapes, and to develop responses which call out to the immediate environment, "I have arrived!" These children of Akbar follow a normal self-preservation course like all living forms.

From birth to seven or eight years of age, Akbar's children learn the primary principles they need to know in order to stay alive -- to honor the existence of life in self and other human forms. Those of you who are familiar with these principles will recognize this first principle as the universal law of self-preservation: "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you."

A peculiar thing happens, however, with most of the children of Akbar when they reach the seventh or eighth year of life and are promoted to the

second or third grade within most public school systems. These children who have behaved in a self-preserving manner since birth, start to display intentionally self-destructive abnormal behavior. They begin to fail in school.

Why do most Black children come to school as self-preserving human beings who exhibit normal learning behavior, perform well in kindergarten, first and second grades, and then begin a downward academic spiral which results in high school graduation examination test failure?

Again, using as my reference the work by ETS researcher, Virginia Shipman and her associates, I am impressed with the findings that the self-esteem of most minority children remains high through the first and second grades, that these children enjoy school, and that they appear to be highly motivated to learn. Shipman and others agree, however, that by third grade, the self-esteem of these children begins to fade and the children are tracked for failure. With the development of a lack of esteem - which occurs around eight years of age for many minority students in public schools - we witness the beginning display of the minority student's abnormal pattern of reduced learning. It was in observation of the development of this self-destructive anti-life behavioral pattern that the phrase, "The longer Black children stay in school, the dumber they get," was repeatedly heard during the 1960's.

More recently, however, sophisticated competency assessment mechanisms have replaced the simplistic "dumber they get" analysis. In Dade County Florida, as part of the explanation for the failure of a large percentage

of Black eleventh-graders on the Functional Literacy Tests, administered to assess basic skills competency, one state official said that the expectation that more than 75% of the Black students would fail the test, "did not come as a surprise to him since he expected in all cases a high failure rate among Blacks." This official's expectation that Black high school students would demonstrate in large numbers self-destructive abnormal non-learning behavioral patterns was nutured by his belief in the following:

1. Blacks do not do well on achievement tests.
2. Blacks come from low socio-economic backgrounds in which education is not taken seriously, and which negatively influence learning.
3. The low socio-economic backgrounds of Blacks negatively influence their learning.

For our purpose, we will only consider here the last belief of this official which incidentally, the panel to whom the official spoke described as the "highest form of the unfortunate practice of blaming the victim."

Several years ago another "blaming the victim" critic, Moynihan, suggested that the Black matriarchy - Black female headed households in low socio-economic communities - left much to be desired in pursuit of equal access to education. (Note: we now find that 44% of all children in this country live in single parent homes.) According to Moynihan, Black Mamas on their own did not represent a highly desirable reference for identifying gifted and talented Black children.

In the work of Shipman and others, to which I previously referred, it was found that father absence and residential mobility showed little or no relationship, respectively, to the Black child's academic performance. In calling attention to these findings, I am not suggesting that children of Akbar do not need their fathers. I am suggesting, however, that Mamas of Black children have a more specific role to play in nurturing Black student academic achievement than may be required of Black Papas during the elementary public school years. In addition to certain physical and psychological resources in the home, the extent of maternal encouragement and involvement with the child in school-related tasks and the mother's achievement expectations for the child were two of Shipman's key indices for minority student academic achievement. For those social scientists who are familiar with Black female and male intimacy, it will be understood that Black female achievement expectations are positively correlated with satisfying Black male/Black female emotional "courting".

In Shipman's study, seven other key variables supported maternal encouragement and mother's achievement expectations in strengthening academic performance in Black children:

1. maternal warmth
2. use of more specific language
3. greater reliance on verbal feedback from the child
4. encouragement of verbalization
5. use of positive versus negative controlling techniques
6. the provision of rationales based on feelings and logical consequences rather than on power and normative expectancies
7. extent of supportive statements about early school experiences

Additionally, Shipman recommends several considerations which may be applicable to this discussion:

1. Mother's level of educational aspirations and expectations appears to influence child's academic performance.
2. Mother's level of aspiration is directly tied to the child's early signs of intellectual alertness.
3. A mother's utilization of her brains, as well as her brawn, for disciplining her child by calling upon feelings of internal power and self-confidence, while simultaneously giving less attention to authoritarian, fear-motivated feelings of powerlessness and self-inadequacy, appears to positively influence the child's academic performance.

In conclusion, I have attempted to give support to the thesis of Akbar, Nobles, Shipman and others that Black children should be expected to learn and display normal self-preservation in a public school setting and that this behavior is positively influenced by their Mama's self-concept, educational and career aspirations, and peace of mind.

It is my belief that Akbar's children need their Mamas more than ever now, especially during the preschool and elementary years. Greater attention must be given to the transition from early self-preservative learning to later abnormal self-destructive non-learning. The Mama that I speak of is, of course, the nutrient spirit rising from the womb, through the heart, to the mind of Mama as she says to Papa under the tree,

You can't go nowhere without me

I'm it!

In Leon Higginbotham's closing luncheon address, he described our responsibility for helping each other to see the beautiful world. His message, "Let me take you by the hand and show it to you," is an appropriate theme for Mamas of young Black children in public school settings.

A Message From The Children Of Akbar

Exiting from your womb
I gulped my first life preserving breath
Leaping from your lap
I walked into my first public school classroom
and demonstrated my brilliance from kindergarten
to third grade
Now the test is before me
To continue to preserve my life
my motivation
and my innate yearning to learn
Mama, I need you more than ever now
Come and be with me as I brace myself
to resist with all my might
the abnormal public school tentacles
of self-destruction which seek to
entangle me indefinitely
Mama, remember what you told Papa
I AM the son and daughter of Akbar
I AM the intellectual giant sucking at your breast
I AM you Mama

Leah Gaskin Fitchue

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PARTNERSHIP FOR PROGRESS IN URBAN EDUCATION -

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ALLOCATING OPPORTUNITIES AND THE SOCIAL ECONOMY OF EDUCATION

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Allocating Opportunities

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Cities are places of opportunities provided by a variety of institutions that dovetail to create developmental paths for individuals. The tendency of individuals to be tracked into one or another developmental path has been widely discussed and empirically supported.[1] We know, for instance that high status families tend to track their progeny into elite prep schools, colleges, and jobs with well-defined advancement opportunities. The prospects are substantially different for the child of a poor family tracked into schools with generally low expectations and achievement scores and then into a day laboring job.

The educational system is the most important of the institutions that bridge the family and the work place. Because of the role of bridge institutions in providing skills and screening that influence an individual's developmental path, it is important to understand how urban systems allocate scarce opportunities. The purpose of this essay is to describe two models of the opportunity system. The first model is derived from principles of neo-classical economic theory. It draws heavily upon a well-defined literature. The second model the grants economy approach, focuses upon nonexchange behaviors that influence opportunity generation. Both models, however, provide insights into two central questions: (1) what determines the developmental opportunity system that confronts individuals? and (2) what principles determine access to alternative paths?

Before describing the grants and exchange models, some abstract concepts and definitions should be made explicit.[2] A development/utilization opportunity (D/UO) is provided by institutions that allow opportunities for skill development or utilization. The concept of "skills" is used in a broad meaning and since skills that are not used often decrease in value to the individual the distinction between development and utilization is necessarily fuzzzy. A development/utilization opportunity path (D/UO Path) is the set of developmental opportunities and institutional affiliations that an individual has used or is likely to use in the future. It is best thought of as a probability branch rather than a determined system. The D/UO Path is a series of sequential institutional affiliations so that D/UO's in early stages limit or widen options available at later stages. Finally the development/utilization opportunity system (D/UO System) is the set of DUO Paths that exist at any one time. Since almost all institutions provide some skill development opportunities, the concept is encompassing. As new institutional alignments evolve the D/UO System changes.

Figure 1

The Development/Utilization Opportunity System

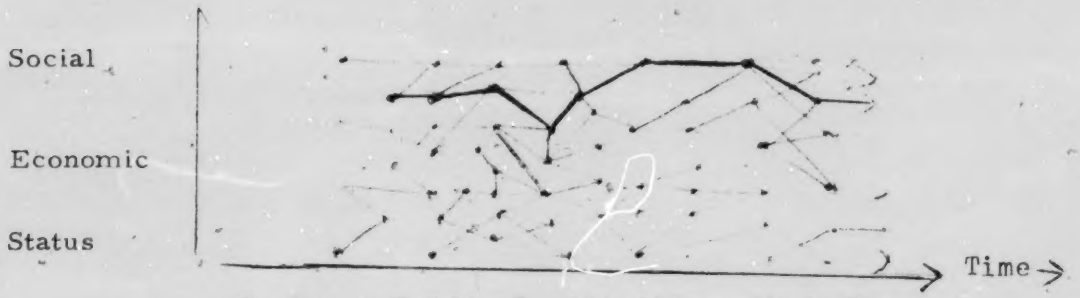

Figure 1 illustrates the concept. Each node represents entrance to a particular development/utilization opportunity. The D/UO Path for an individual is shown by the dark line. The fact that opportunity paths branch more frequently in the period when youths choose among bridge institutions and in the early work years reflects the fact that opportunities narrow as the result of previous choices. The greater the social mobility the more upward and downward opportunity paths. Conversely a pure caste system would be illustrated by a lack of linkage between various D/UO Paths.

Of course, our illustration fails to reflect the complexity of the actual system. A traditional society provides few choice branches. For instance, in a traditional society the rough features of an individual's D/UO Path may be known at the .90 confidence level. Opportunity paths become more difficult to map as societies become more urbanized, skill requirements become more complex (and change more rapidly) and family characteristics become more diverse. But complexity should not refute its value as a theoretical construction. Given the validity of the concepts, we need to develop a model of opportunity allocation.

THE EXCHANGE MODEL

The mainstream of neo-classical economics has traditionally viewed labor as a commodity that is combined with other resources to generate output. Individual incomes are determined by the price and quantity of human capital sold in the market. From this perspective the role of the developmental system is to augment the quantity of human capital that an individual possesses. While there are occasional references to nonproductive uses of developmental opportunities--better citizens, better leisure time usage,

etc.--such concepts are difficult to operationalize within the paradigm.

The exchange model assumes that individuals are aware of alternative opportunities. They will spend resources--money, effort, time, etc.--in order to gain access to an institution providing development/utilization opportunities if the expected benefits they receive are greater than their costs. For instance, Becker states:

> Analytically, the optimal allocation of time between two occupations A_1 and A_2 would depend not only on the current wage rate differentials but also on the influence of the current allocation on subsequent differentials. By allocating most of his current working time to A_1, one might convert negative existing differentials into sizable positive differentials at later ages. ...The analysis can be greatly simplified... by assuming complete specialization in a single occupation. The problem is then reduced to deciding whether the stream of earnings obtained by specializing in A_1 is preferred to the stream obtained by specializing in A_2. (p. 173)[3]

A central postulate in the human capital approach is that individuals have differing abilities and ambitions. Consequently, the individual rewards of alternative D/UO Paths will vary. Thus while children from both enriched and deprived backgrounds may choose a career in "sales" for example, the prospective rewards will differ if one of the individuals has greater affective skills. Likewise, intellectual and physical skills will cause rewards to differ. Individuals will also select alternative development/utilization opportunity paths because of alternative ambitions. Conceptually the rewards that individuals seek may be both pecuniary and non-pecuniary (although psychologists and sociologists are often skeptical at the ease with which nonpecuniary goals--often vague, confused, and even contradictory--are converted into dollars or

abstract units of utility).

At the same time individuals choose developmental/utilization opportunity paths for themselves (or as in the case of children, have paths selected for them) opportunities must be rationed on the basis of advantage to the individual or institution making the selection. Perhaps the clearest example is the desire of businesses to hire the most productive workers possible at the prevailing wages. The personnel manager may be evaluated on objective indicators of productivity of the persons he recommends. Thus a personnel manager will prefer punctual, healthy, work-oriented individuals to those who have traits that may be perceived as unstable.

In addition to the individual opportunities, the forces that determine the nature of the existing global opportunity system and the forces that cause the opportunity structure to change should be examined. With a few notable exceptions neo classical economists have eschewed the problem of institutional change. The D/UO System that characterizes a city is determined by forces generally beyond the control of individual actors and rather attributed to such exogenous forces such as government policy, the state of the economy, values, and so forth. This is not to say that an individual has no choice among various D/UO Paths. Rather it is the existing opportunity-providing institutions that are beyond the control of a single individual. It is rare when a single individual can create a new university, or even an extra berth in a law school.

Yet opportunity systems do change over time as institutions evolve or innovate. The same motives, the same invisible hand, that channels individuals through the D/UO System will cause institutions to evolve or mutate. Individuals, normally acting

through institutions, find that because of a disequilibrating change in the environment, their objectives can be better served by alternative institutional arrangements. However, institutional change is costly to initiate so individuals will invest resources to create alternative D/UO Systems only if the expected benefits outweigh the costs. While such a calculus of costs and benefits need not always be in monetary terms, individualistic, utilitarian calculation is a necessary feature of the exchange model.

Davis and North summarize the exchange model of institutional change:

> We postulate that economic institutions are innovated or property rights are revised because it appears desirable for individuals or groups to undertake the costs of such changes; they hope to capture some profit which is unattainable under the old arrangement.
>
> An institutional arrangement will be innovated if the expected net gains exceed the expected costs. Only when this condition is met would we expect to find attempts being made to alter the existing structure of institutions...(p. 10)[4]

Thus opportunities change when a disequilibriating force makes it possible for some groups to capture gains by altering the institutional arrangement.

The development of affirmative action programs or accelerated educational programs focusing upon racial minorities are examples of recent and ongoing changes in the D/UO Paths faced by many Americans. The exchange interpretation of the institutional change would begin with the increased political power of Blacks due to voting changes and/or the increased "Black awareness." Blacks saw that their individual prospects could be enhanced by such programs. This change is exogenous, but it caused pressures to be brought against politicians and members of the educational bureaucracy. Policy makers and administrators responded in ways that enhanced

tenure in office, promotions, or less aggregating life styles. Thus the change in opportunity structure resulted from individual, self-interested behavior.

Implications of the Model: Perhaps the most noted educational implication of the exchange model is the voucher system suggested many years ago by Friedman.[5] If exchange forces create opportunities then public policy ought to encourage market-like mechanisms of social organization. Thus the voucher system provides parents with "funds" to spend for their children's education. Availability of loans through private sources could supplement the government financed vouchers and private funds for those who wanted higher quality education or more years of schooling than would be affordable under the voucher system. The schools would find it in their interests to provide skills since skill provision is linked closely to the self interest (profits) of the providers. If new institutional arrangements were needed, the "dollar vote" would make the development opportunity providers (i.e. the for profit schools) more responsive and the DU/OS will be affected more quickly than if the pressures for change had to filter through a governmental bureaucracy.

The purpose here is not to discuss the efficacy of the voucher plan. The debate regarding whether the market mechanisms can work in the educational context is beyond our scope. The origins of the proposal however are clearly grounded in the exchange model.

Tullock, drawing upon the exchange model, has developed an implication that suggests government may be ineffective at creating opportunities.[6] Since utility maximizing individuals are willing to spend resources to gain access to a DU/O Path up to the point

where the marginal expected benefits equal the incremental costs, competition among potential entrants will increase the costs to limited developmental opportunities if government policy attempts to increase the benefits or to lower the cost of a development opportunity. For instance, if government action increased the reward (or lowered the costs) associated with a particular type of training by providing scholarships or guaranteeing good jobs to those with the training individuals would crowd into the field. Competition among those seeking the D/UO would cause costs of admission to increase. If, on the other hand, number of entrants were not limited (so there was no institutional rationing problem) then the rewards for those pursuing the D/UO Path would fall because the increased supply would cause wages to decline.

Tullock recognized that some gains might accrue to individuals during the adjustment period. In our example individuals who were just ready to enter the D/UO Path when the government action increased the net benefits from such a choice might receive gains. The gains, however are transitional, and not permanently associated with the development/utilization opportunity.

THE GRANTS MODEL

Concepts of grants economics offer an alternative framework for understanding the development/utilization opportunity system. Whereas exchange models examine resource allocation in situations where A gives something to B in return for something of comparable value, grants economics explores the nature of unilateral transfers.[7] According to the exchange model individuals are motivated by personal gain. In the grants economy motives such as "love," "obligation," "status attainment" and "tradition" dominate self

interest. The granting orientation is embedded in the attitude: "You do something for me because I am your father, or a king, a priest, a teacher, a lover, child or student and so on."[8] (p. 26)

Polanyi has argued that exchange behavior is a secondary organizing force. He described the interrelationship of granting motives and the economic process.[9]

> The outstanding discovery of recent historical and anthropological research is that man's economy is, as a rule, submerged in his social relationships. He does not act so as to safeguard his individual interest in the possession of material goods; he acts so as to safeguard his social standing, his social claim, his social assets...Neither the process of production nor that of distribution is linked to specific economic interests attached to the possession of goods; but every step in that process is geared to a number of social interests which eventually insure that the required steps be taken. (p. 46)

Thus, the grants model does not deny that opportunities are granted in a way that may provide benefits to both the grantor and grantee, but here is not an exchange, not even an approximate quid pro quo, in the allocation or choice of developmental/utilization opportunities. Furthermore, the grants model implies that prospects for personal enrichment by exchange in the allocation of opportunities are limited by the granting motives and social pressure.

The grants model is less well understood and more difficult to analyze compared to the exchange model largely because individual motives are more complex. Nevertheless, implications of the model for the allocation of development/utilization opportunities have substantial empirical support. Whereas the exchange model suggests that opportunities are chosen on the basis of a utility cost/benefit calculation, the grants model suggest that custom or tradition are more important factors. Thus the fact that the Brahmin caste

avoided business endeavors is attributable not to the fact that opportunities for gain were absent, but rather that such a D/UO Path was not even considered in a calculating manner. The fact that various minority groups cluster in a band of occupations also suggests that tradition and custom are important in selecting opportunity paths.

The grants model also implies that opportunities are allocated on the basis of obligation rather than direct gain to the individual or institution providing the opportunity. Thus personal traits rather than exchange value are the key to access. Entrance to accelerated programs in school is allocated on the basis of merit, family status, or law, rather than exchange.

Likewise, the grants model implies that the D/UO System changes in response to needs of social cohesion and obligation towards individuals and groups. The development of affirmative action was discussed earlier from the perspective of the exchange model. The grants model would suggest that the development of affirmative action programs: (1) were designed to mend the rending social fabric evidenced by civil disturbances and/or (2) the outgrowth of an awareness of unequal opportunity coupled with shifting values towards racial opportunity differentials.

The institutions that constitute the D/UO System are organized to a large degree around grants rather than exchange principles. Often the institutions operate in the exchange economy when dealing with one another but eschew or at least soften such principles in internal operation. The family is the base of the D/UO Path for most individuals. Aspirations and cognitive and affective skills are developed within the family. Although there are elements of

exchange in family organization most family behavior is role and status related. The bridge institutions are perhaps the most obvious policy intervention point because they are largely governmental institutions and greatly influence an individual's developmental/utilization opportunities. Yet it is very difficult to envision these as primarily exchange institutions. For example, a medical school could charge a fee equal to the present value of the expected income increment attributable to medical education. But such behavior would violate a social norm regarding who should attend medical school. A child's benefits from the Boy Scouts, for example, are not a function of what the child or parents can pay the troup leader. Even within the work place opportunities are not allocated according to exchange principles. Opportunities to learn additional job skills, for instance, are seldom allocated strictly on ability or other predictors of the possible marginal revenue product that the individual will generate for the firm. Rather, criteria such as formal education seniority minimize disruption that could result from pure exchange allocation of opportunities. The labor union is another organization of the work place. While it clearly operates in the exchange economy when dealing with employers, its internal organization is determined by principles of status, tradition, and custom.[10]

There is a close association between the functions of D/UO Systems and issues of societal maintenance since the development and use of skills involve the transfer of opportunities from one generation to another. The proclivity of unions to give apprenticeships to relatives of journeymen or of medical schools to admit the offspring of physicians is a recognition of the intergenerational aspects of skill development.

The philosophy and history of the major bridge institutions are frequently explicit about the need to contribute towards societal maintenance. The history of public education, for example, can be explained far better by analyzing the extent of the value commitment to "equal opportunity" or social cohesion than by exploring opportunities for mutual gain. Because of the belief that opportunities should not be allocated along exchange lines, most of the development opportunity institutions, especially the educational system, are organized so as to minimize exchange possibilities.

Implications of the Grants Model: Several propositions have been developed to analyze the urban grants economies.[11] While the principles were originally designed to explain transfers of money and in-kind goods and services, they also have implications for the allocation of development/utilization opportunities.

The first implication can be summarized: "the same markets that create wealth create poverty (The Henry George Rule)." As the exchange system creates wealth for some individuals, it reduces wealth for others.[12] The same dynamic forces operate in the D/UO System. If opportunities were allocated purely on the basis of excahnge principles, uneven access to opportunities would create pressures for alternative arrangements. Thus increased reliance upon exchange principles will both create and negate opportunities for various groups. Even if exchange principles determine only part of the behavior of the D/UO System, the nature of those institutions that are organized on granting concepts will also be affected as change in one sphere creates pressure for change in another.

However, like the exchange system, allocation of opportunities by grants sector is not necessarily progressive. The British Army in the 19th century was an opportunity granting system that was regressive--providing more opportunities to those with the most options initially. In fact we have no reason to believe that one organizing principle is more or less regressive than another. Thus the second principle of granting systems is that "wealth is created and destroyed by involuntary one-way transfers." Applying the concept to the opportunity development/utilization system and combining it with the first axiom we may conclude that opportunities may be created or destroyed by involuntary changes in the opportunity system.

A widely recognized granting principle is that "transfers tend to be viewed as permanent property rights." Federal farm programs that support agricultural prices are currently viewed by many farmers as permanent rights and so are a wide variety of other grants. The same behavior characterizes the allocation of development opportunities. A good example of the contention that individuals view certain opportunities (that initially were grants) as rights is the resistance in areas of the best neighborhood schools to city wide busing programs. The prevailing feeling is that their children had a right to attend a particular school.

Policies designed to stimulate opportunities for particular groups are often caught in granting traps. Special school programs, often viewed as experimental by administrators, are quickly assumed to be an established part of the D/UO System by families taking advantage of the program. Access to the institutions may be assumed to be a right and termination of the D/UO will be politically

difficult. Consequently some D/UO's might be designed to be self-terminating so as to minimize the rights perspective.

The fourth granting concept is that " an old grant is a good grant" because changes in the structure of grants cause readjustment costs. Likewise, adjustments in the D/UO System involve readjustment costs since individuals invest efforts in the belief that the D/UO System will be stable. For example, suppose the requirements for a high school diploma were changed so that certain reading and mathematics levels rather than mere attendance were required for graduation. The change would disrupt the plans of those who may have lacked the skills needed to graduate but who felt that a diploma would prove useful. The time they spent would have been wasted. Conversely, a lowering of the standards would be disruptive to those whose developmental plans required a given level of skill.

The proposition that an existing D/UO System is a good one should not imply that the opportunity structure should not be changed. In the words of David Harvey, the Status Quo may have nothing to quo about. The point is that changes in the D/UO System involve costs that should not be ignored when planning institutional changes. Furthermore the costs will be a function of the rate of change as well as the type of change. "Grandfather" clauses may significantly reduce the cost of changes to individuals and avoid the discouragement of individual planning that will result from frequent changes in individual D/UO Paths.

"Urbanization by virtue of the breakup of the extended family and the small geographically-bound community, has accelerated the replacement of private giving and helping with public granting." Likewise, urbanization has encouraged the involvement of public agencies in both individual guidance and the structure of the D/UO

System. Ginzberg described the simplicity of most development/utilization opportunity paths in traditional society:[13]

> In traditional agricultural society, the manpower development system is coexistent with the extended family...His family is not only his instructor but in many cases eventually also his employer. (p. 65)

The description contrasts sharply with urban societies where development opportunities are divided among a variety of both public and private institutions. This fragmentation makes coordination necessary. Furthermore the better the grants model explains the allocation of development opportunities, the more important it becomes for institutions to plan and coordinate their actions. The invisible hand may coordinate and buy/sell decisions in the exchange economy, but such an "automatic" mechanism is lacking in the grants sector, so conscious coordination--partnerships--are more important..

The problem for the individual in navigating a D/UO Path is also complicated by urban complexity. The likelihood that two members of the same family will traverse similar D/UO Paths is less in urban than rural society so that information regarding the proper steps within a path is often lacking and usually imperfect. Yet the more fragmented the institutions the greater the information needed. The proliferation of government counselling and manpower programs can be attributed to urbanization and the complexity of job requirements.

The sixth implication of the grants model is a normative principle: "a well functioning city or urban system ameliorates problems of its subeconomies and attempts to integrate its social systems through a series of grants." The generation and allocation of development and work opportunities is an important social as well as economic function because work is important in defining

one's place in the social system.[14] Policies of pure cash transfers or blatant make work programs may reduce poverty but are likely to lack the integrative features of a well functioning D/UO System. Unfortunately, while the opportunity development system can be a mechanism for ameliorating problems and bringing subgroups into the mainstream of society, it is often a center of controversy. Access to development/utilization opportunities is frequently the turf on which groups contest for social roles and images. The conflict, evidence of the importance attached to access to D/UO Paths, is frequently focused upon the educational system and other bridge institutions.

SYNTHESIS

The exchange and grants models are not mutally exclusive. For example, many elite, bridge institutions have high tuition and other requirements that are characteristic of grants allocation such as test scores, family status, and state of origin. Furthermore, while not all non-monetary qualification for a developmental opportunity may be analyzed as exchanges, many individual traits generate benefits to the institution or individual rationing the opportunities on the basis of implicit and indirect exchange. Perhaps the best example of an exchange that does not involve money is the athlete clearly bound for a professional career who enrolls at a major university. The individual wants training and exposure to the pro scouts; the institution wants the notoriety associated with a successful team; the coach who admits the athlete wants a successful career.

The problem of empirical classification is further complicated by the fact that the same trait can be evidence of admission on

either exchange or grants criteria. A law school that admits the top 5% of a college class may be operating primarily in the grants economy. A law firm that hires on the basis of roughly the same criteria (upper 5% of a law class) may be operating on a strictly exchange model.

In addition, the same institution that selects entrants on the basis of what individuals can do for the organization (exchange) may promote on the basis of minimizing hard fillings, friendships, or justice. Thus internal development opportunities are rationed on granting principles.

Further difficulties of empirical classification of developmental opportunities are created because different standards may apply to different groups. Granting criteria also may be a preselection device but exchange principles may determine who in the preselected group is given access to a D/UO Path. For instance, only white males may be admitted into certain training, but which white males? Further selection may be based primarily upon the marginal revenue products that they generate for the institution. Conversely, exchange criteria may be a preselector--only individuals who can generate sufficient benefits to the institution will be given an opportunity--and granting standards may be the secondary standards.

The analytical insights of both the exchange and grants models are useful in understanding the complex forces that cause changes in the institutional environment. The grants perspective implies that value changes and shifts in population among social groups will create pressures to revise the D/UO System. The exchange model lends itself to analysis of the impact of technological innovations and changes in the resource stock and other

exogenous factors that shift the marginal revenue product of entrants. It is doubtful that either paradigm can provide a satisfactory explanation without the other.

Partnerships in Education: The concept of a development/utilization opportunity system implies the need for partnerships between the family, the various bridge institutions, and the work place. However, the emerging partnerships will involve coordination among institutions that allocate opportunities on different criteria. The multiplicity of operating principles will make coordination difficult. Furthermore partnerships must seek not only to increase opportunities to individuals in general, but also to allocate the opportunities. The individuals who enter the new D/UO Paths will depend upon a combination of exchange and grants principles within and among institutions.

This paper did not answer the question of how to allocate optimally the opportunities that will be created (and destroyed) by changes in the D/UO System. Each model has its own normative standards. The exchange model primarily values efficiency and the grants model social integration. The policy synthesis might involve trade-offs between these goals as it allocates opportunities.

Footnotes and References

[1]S. M. Lipset and R. Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society (Univeristy of California Press, Berkely), 1959.

[2]Some of these concepts were developed in Eli Ginzberg, The Human Economy (McGraw-Hill, New York), 1976. "The process of skill acquisition and utilization is dependent on a group of interdependent institutions which, in advanced societies, includes at a minimum the family, the school, and employing organizations. Also included in varying degrees are such institutions as the church, the military, youth groups, and various professional and employee organizations." (p. 220) The terminology also conforms as much as possible to that used by Ginzberg.

[3]Gary S. Becker, Economic Theory (Alfred A. Knopf, New York), 1971.

[4]Lance E. Davis and Douglass C. North, Institutional Change and American Economic Growth (Cambridge U. Press, Cambridge Eng.) 1971.

[5]Milton Friedman, Capitalism and Freedom (The University of Chicago Press, Chicago) 1962, chapter IV.

[6]Gordon Tullock, "The Transitional Gains Trap" The Bell Journal of Economics Vol. 6 No. 2 (Autumn, 1975) pp. 671-678.

[7]Kenneth E. Boulding, A Primer on Social Dynamics (The Free Press, New York) 1970, p. 25.

[8]Ibid, p. 26.

[9]Karl Polanyi, The Great Transformation (Beacon Press, Boston) 1957.

[10]At this point supporters of the pure exchange model might develop arguments that show there is really a rough although hidden quid pro quo. For instance, seniority might be explained as a means of reducing screening costs, or it might be argued that seniority is a proxy for higher revenue product.

Refuting these arguments is like refuting the oft heard contention that there is no such thng as altruism. Suffice it to say that the more hidden the utility maximizing motives the less power the exchange model has as a tool of analysis.

[11]John P. Blair, Gary Gappert, and David C. Warner, "Rethinking Urban Problems: Inequality and the Grants Economy" G. Gappert & H. Rose(eds) Social Economy of Cities (Sage, Beverly Hills California) 1975. Each of the grants concepts which follow and are in quotes in the next few pages are attributable to this source.

[12]This is not to say that the exchange process is only a zero sum game.

[13] Eli Ginzberg, op cit.

[14] The contrast between the exchange and grants model regarding the concept of work is interesting to note. While the grants model presents work as a integrative link between the individual and society, the exchange model treats work as a "bad." Because of the onus of work, compensation is required. Absence of work is therefore a "problem" only because production is lost and/or the individuals who are unemployed have lower incomes. The implications of the contrasting views for public policy have yet to be widely understood.

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THE EDUCATIONAL PRIORITIES PANEL:

Its Significance as an Educational Change Strategy

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INTRODUCTION

It should be clear to everyone at this point that our urban centers have not faired very well over the past decade. In the period since the urban riots of the late '60's, we have witnessed an erosion in the tax base in many major cities, decline in the housing stock and an ever worsening employment picture. Surely, a national urban policy is essential to begin to address the decline of our cities. Perhaps no single urban service is in as much disarray or decline, or as crucial in terms of a turn around, as our urban school systems. For many, the condition of our schools is the barometer of urban decay, effecting the entire economic fabric of life in our cities. Certainly, in New York City, the decline in our schools has proceeded hand in glove with our fiscal crises. Clearly, if New York, or any city, is to survive and to become vital again, it must assign a very high priority to the education of our public school children.

The New York City school system entered this fiscal year amidst a storm of controversy. This is due largely to the schools' continued poor performance, as evidenced by declining reading and math scores, widespread citizen dissatisfaction with the school board and an inadequate response by the prior school's bureaucracy to the fiscal crisis.

In New York City over the past five years, the Board of Education budget increased by $750 million, while enrollment declined steadily. During that period nearly twenty thousand teachers were laid off while only 34 administrators lost their jobs. A bulging bureaucracy together with debt services ate up nearly 50 cents out of every education dollar in our City.

In the midst of the current fiscal crisis, the educational establishment had made clear by its decisions and indecisions its lack of clear educational priorities:

- In 1976-77, when faced with a budget which could no longer be increased, instructional services were cut while administrative services were not only not reduced but, in many cases, increased;
- Ninety-minutes of instructional time per week were eliminated as part of contractual negotiations;
- Cuts were made, eliminating guidance counselors, art and music programs and physical education programs, while at the same time, administrative expenditures increased in the school transportation, school lunch and school custodial programs.

It became increasingly clear that the priorities established by a Board and staff insulated from its consumer population, too often reflect business as usual and often does not necessarily represent the interests of consumers of public education.

It is out of a firm recognition that the existing system will not and cannot reform itself without outside assistance, that a coalition of agencies formed in early 1976 to represent this unrepresented constituency and push for a change in educational priorities. Its membership is diverse and includes: Advocates for Children, Alliance for Children, ASPIRA of New York, Association for the Help of Retarded Children, Citizens Committee for Children of New York, Inc., The City Club of New York, the City-Wide Confederation of High School Parents, Community Council of Greater New York, Community Service Society, Junior League of Brooklyn, League of Women Voters, New York Junior League, New York Urban Coalition, New York Urban League, Parents Action Committee

for Education, Public Education Association, Queensboro Federation of Parents Clubs, United Neighborhood Houses, United Parents Associations, Women's City Club, 100 Black Women, Presbytery of New York City.

The Educational Priorities Panel is a coalition of major parent and civic organizations. It was formed to focus attention on spending practices and fiscal priorities of the Board of Education in New York City. The coalition that few thought could be formed and fewer thought could be sustained was unified around one signle goal: ensuring that the maximum amount of dollars available in a finite budget go toward educational services to children. All of EPP's research activities have centered on this fundamental budgetary issue.

The Educational Priorities Panel is much more than just a research organization. In many ways it signals the emergence of a third force in educational decision-making; a force to counterbalance the strength of the bureacracy and the unions and speak for the clients of our school system. It utilizes the budgetary process and the management study as tools to achieve major structural and management reforms in our educational system. It also plays a constructive role in helping to reform the bureaucracy and support change which would otherwise be difficult to achieve.

This is a crucial time in the history of our nation's cities. The fiscal woes of school systems large and small seems to be here to stay. This has forced public attention on the budgetary process. Educational expenditures, which account for 20% of our city's spending in New York, have never before been under such intense scrutiny. Through its budgetary monitoring and agressive pursuit of sound management practices, the EPP has pursued change from within the educational system, and from without -- through the media. Through its outreach program, EPP is beginning

to build a cadre of supporters at the community level which will survive this coalition effort and hopefully stimulate similar experiences in other parts of the country.

The major tool of this citizen coalition then, has been the education budget. It was felt that an intimate understanding of the technical areas in the budget demystified for a lay audience, would unlock for parents and citizens in general the secrets behind the assignation of priorities within that budget. The tradition in New York City at least has been for parent and civic groups not to demand access to the budget process. For many, the fear of being inadequately prepared to discuss the technical areas in the budget was too great. For others the active discouragement of technocrats and budgeteers who spoke rapidly of below the line cuts, mandated costs, controllable and uncontrollable budget, was far too intimidating to produce even the most tentative of questions. And yet the budget was and is the single most important tool for this citizen group to use to achieve citizen access in educational decision making.

What is a budget? A budget is a statement of how much money an agency expects to have during a given year--its revenue, and how it expects to spend that money--its expenditures.

A budget can also be read as an expression of an agency's priorities. When resources are limited, how much money is spent in one area of the budget affects how much is available for other areas in the budget. Choices made within a budget can determine which areas are considered to be of high or of low priority.

Parents and citizens need to understand how these priorities

are determined and implemented so that they can act to influence fiscal decisions and the educational policies which result.

THE EXPERIENCE OF THE EPP

Educational policy making in New York City has always been regarded as among the most closed of the various policy sub-systems. The highly centralized organization of the school system poses a serious deterrent to communication between parent groups and policy makers. Moreover, the complex and many-sided constituency of educationally concerned interest groups has generally resulted in a fragmentation of efforts which has served to protect the education hierarchy. "The self-governing status of the school officialdom and its allied bureaucracy is only mildly impaired." In particular, "the parent's groups are the least influential of the non-governmental assocations with which school officials must deal. These groups are dependent upon school officials for their agenda, their information and their methods...Upon the central policies and practices of officialdom and bureaucracy, the parent organizations have a peripheral impact." (Sayre & Kaufman, Governing New York City, W.W.Norton, 1965, pp. 282-285.) While the Decentralization Law passed by the State Legislature in 1969 created a new layer of officially sanctioned, legitimate and mildly empowered participants, namely the elected local school boards in 32 districts of the city, decentralization to the extent that it has been allowed to function has not resulted in a significant devolution of power to local participants. In this overall setting the emergence and endurance of the EPP is in and of itself a major accomplishment.

The viability of the Panel is reflected in its internal operations. Participation in EPP has required a major commitment from member organizations and their representatives. Each organization donates the time of

at least one, and in some cases, three persons to work with the Panel. Weekly Panel meetings, committee sessions and a constant and heavy schedule of meetings with public officials and community groups have required a considerable time investment by individual participants. The Panel's internal effectiveness is evidenced in its ability to sustain this interactive pattern throughout almost three years of existence. Moreover, this pattern of activity has also been a key element in building and maintaining the high degree of cohesion in EPP. Intensive deliberation among particpants has been the medium for shaping the group's agenda and deciding on the particular means to pursue it. Reaching consensus through this intensive process has been vital in sustaining the Panel's united front.

Elected by her colleagues, Helen C. Heller, Executive Director of the United Parents Association, has served as Coordinator of the Panel since its inception. Staff and support services for the Panel's work have been provided, on a contract basis by INTERFACE, a non-profit management and research organization. INTERFACE has been responsible for the development and management of the Panel's research agenda and the coordination of the EPP's extensive program of contact with public officials and the media.

THE EPP RECORD: AGENDA, ACTIVITIES AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Within the short period of its organizational lifetime, the EPP has undertaken a host of activities, and achieved a great deal. EPP's general goal is expressed in its initial press release of May 3, 1976: "The purpose of our independent analysis of the budget is to help the

Board understand the ways in which it could reallocate its existing budget to yield improved educational services to children." Having been rebuffed by the Board in its initial attempt to establish an internal dialogue and gain a participatory role, the Panel's overall strategy has been to advocate change in the role of an outsider. In its own words, the EPP has "focused its energies on two concurrent and general strategies, which can be described as analysis and liaison." The analysis component has been reflected in the Panel's series of budgetary critiques and reallocation proposals, management studies, watch dogging of budget modifications and program monitoring. The pursuit of the liaison strategy has been implemented through testimony at the Board of Education, presentations at Board of Estimate and City Council budget hearings and committee sessions, meetings with elected officials, briefing sessions with mayoral candidates, press conferences and other media contacts, and outreach to local school board members and parent groups.

The evolution of EPP has been something quite dramatic to witness. Initially EPP had to win a battle of credibility when its budgetary analysis was questioned by technocrats at central school headquarters. Unquestionably EPP has won that battle. It has succeeded with parents and civic groups in cementing its coalition base and expanding it -- but more importantly it has established an unquestionably high reputation with the political establishment, the media, state officials, and now with the new administrator at the school headquarters, in a surprisingly brief period of time.

Over the past 2½ years, EPP's program of research, policy analysis, and policy advocacy has lead to a $80 million budget change, restoring a variety of classroom services first cut during the City's fiscal crisis. Remediation, transition, classes for holdovers and recreation programs not possible before have now been added to the school programs. Class size has been reduced in our early grades and a full one third of our schools are open for an additional two hours each day during the current year. Additional dollars now flowing to school districts will result in expanded guidance, music art and enrichment programs. Clearly much more needs to be and can be done, but an important and impressive first step has been taken.

EPP has spearheaded administrative reforms in key areas of school operations. In school leasing, school buildings, school lunches, school budgeting, school utilization, community use of school space, curriculum, bidding and purchasing. Reform has begun, based directly on EPP's work. EPP's outreach program has led to the creation of a base of community support around education budget reform. EPP has framed the debate on educational priorities and won wide acceptance for its concepts in school districts and parent associations all around the City of New York. All of this has been accomplished in a uniquely cost effective manner. For every 100 dollars contributed toward the EPP's work by foundations and corporations, $25,000 in services to children has been achieved. EPP has consistently been able to expand its funding base and thus been allowed to expand and add depth to its programmatic achievements.

Accomplishments:

The first and foremost accomplishment of the EPP has been a major reallocation of funds away from administrative areas into direct classroom services to children as follows.

Reallocations Since 1976 Proposed by EPP

Year	Type	Amount
1976	Shift by City Council and Board of Estimate	$ 12.5 million
1976	Budget modification from transportation into Special Education by the Board of Education	$ 18 million
1977	Shift by City Council/Board of Estimate	$ 2.5 million
1977	Additional reallocation by Chancellor promised as part of Stavisky settlement	$ 2.5 million
1978	Savings pledged in Mayor's Financial Plan submitted to Congress	$ 15.7 million
1978	Reallocation adopted by Council and Board of Estimate	$ 15.7 million
* 1978	Agreement not to penalize Community Districts for underspending	$ 8.5 million
	TOTAL Reallocations and Savings to date to increase classroom services	$ 75.4 million

* Note: The Chancellor announced, in July 1978, another $7.2 million shift following EPP recommendations, thus bringing our total to $82.6 million in reallocation.

To achieve these shifts, EPP has commissioned and/or prepared the following reports and materials:

1. A Guide to the New York State Aid Formula (March, 1978) by Liz Gewirtzman and Lynne Welkart.
2. A Guide to the New York City School Budget (January, 1978) by Liz Gewirtzman and Lynne Weikart.
3. Recommendations regarding Budget Modifications at the Board of Education (September, 1977) by Mr. Allan Tumolillo and Mr. Richard Gerwitz.
4. A study of The New York City School Headquarters and the Community School Districts (June, 1977) by Dr. David Rogers.
5. Recommendations to the Board of Estimate and City Council on the Board of Education Budget (May, 1977) by the Educational Priorities Panel.
6. A report on School Buildings: Utilization, Capacity and Leasing (August, 1976) by Mr. Allan Tumolillo.
7. A report on the New York City School Lunch Program (August, 1976) by the Educational Priorities Panel.
8. A report on the Custodial Contract and Maintenance Costs in the New York City Schools (July, 1976) by the Educational Priorities Panel.
9. A Critique of the Proposed Budget for the Board of Education (May, 1976) by Dr. Lewis Friedman.
10. A budget Critique of the Board of Education (May, 1978) by Ms. Tina Li.
11. A study of competitive bidding practices at the Board of Education (June, 1978) by Mr. Allan Tumolillo.
12. A study of the Division of School Buildings at the Board of Education (June, 1978) by Mr. Allan Tumolillo.

13. The School Budget: Who Decides on What, When and How, (May, 1978) by the Educational Priorities Panel.

Relevance of EPP as a national model for Citizen Action Coalitions

Although the experience of EPP in New York City is issue specific, there is reason to believe that the experience of this particular coalition has broader implications. Certainly the development coalitions of this type in other cities could be an important tool through which more relevant and broader consensus around public education reform could develop.

Using EPP as a base, then, let us discuss briefly and in broad strokes the general purposes of Citizen Action Coalitions, the ingredients of successful citizen coalitions and some specific techniques based upon EPP's work which could be used by others interested in following the lead of the Panel.

1) Purposes of Citizen Action Coalitions

While the collection and analysis of solid data should be a major purpose of any planned coalition effort, it may not be the sole or primary goal. It may be the means to certain broader goals: a more equitable distribution of education funds; opening the education budget process; education or management reform; or the formation of a broader citizen's coalition.

Whatever their major motivation, groups will need to follow two fundamental imperatives if their work is to be both creditable and useful to their goals and objectives and the unique perspectives they bring to bear on the project. Second, they must produce a quality product.

Citizens action projects can be uniquely successful tools in achieving some of the following broad purposes:

1. Building the base for action

   Too many local parent or citizen groups have been defeated by other special interests or existing power structures because they have not bothered to collect the facts and present a rational case. It is clear that rhetoric and "being right" are often not adequate weapons to achieve organizational goals. Many groups are beginning to realize that a solid information base is the pre-requisite for effective action.

2. Public Education

   Citizen action coalitions offer a great opportunity for citizen groups to educate the community about their local education system and the more systemic problems which it reflects (eg. the lack of targeting to specific problems, poor public information and re-

porting practices, etc.] Through techniquest such as questionnaires, interviews and the use of media, an organization can reach and involve many persons outside its membership.

3. Coalition Building

A citizen action coalition can easily provide the cement around which a broader coalition of organizations can come together. Its broad approach to a total program means that the self interests of individual organizations are not likely to clash.

2) Ingredients of Successful Citizen Coalitions

1. Clarity of goals and objectives

This would include a description of the organization's concerns, perspectives and biases.

2. Sound research design

Consultation with researchers, academics and other organizations has proved helpful in making certain that the structure of the project and the techniques proposed to carry it out are in line with the project's goals and objectives.

3. Adequate staff/financial resources

The concerned organizations should commit sufficient staff resources, either of on-going staff or outside additional staff, to undertake and complete the job. This means making the project an organizational priority. Experience indicates that some organizations, most notably middle class organizations such as local Leagues of Women Voters which have members with available leisure time and a good deal of technical skills, can do a first rate job. Most groups, however, will not be able to depend solely on lay staff. Even in those projects where professional researchers have done most of the work for the citizen organizations, the organizations have had to contribute a good deal of their staff time to oversee the staff and make certain that community concerns were represented.

4. Coalition orientation and on-going training

Orientation and training are an important feature, particularly where members of the coalition have not been experienced researchers, the issues have been complex and the project design has called for

such techniques as interviewing, or budget analysis with which staff have not been very familiar.

5. Ability to disseminate findings and follow-up recommendations

The issuance of a balanced, attractive report to community, and political leaders and decision-makers, accompanied by media coverage, has invariably heightened the project's status and influence. A set of constructive recommendations has provided monitoring groups with the basis for meeting policy makers and pressing for changes.

3) Specific Techniques for Citizen Action on Budget Priorities

1. Building Coalitions

Of primary importance is the fact that the citizen coalition be broad based and have depth. Logical components in an education budget coalition are: public school parents, the business community, civic or good government groups, ethnic organizations, etc. It is important that each have a stake in the public school system operating soundly, but dangerous to have any element of your coalition dependent upon the system for its funds. Groups need to rally around a common thread or theme -- the classroom services first budgetary priority would appear to be a good example of a narrow but easily subscribed to theme.

2. Building a data base

The data base is also crucial to the success of the coalition. It is no longer nough to be right or righteous or to have a feeling that services are getting short shrift in the budget. A citizen coalition around the budget has to be held to a high standard on its technical work. Such work should be carefully thought out, well defined, performed or advised by experienced professionals and easily interpreted and presented to a broad audience. The coalition must be prepared to meet the technocrats/budgeteers on their own ground to present and hopefully win their case.

3. Tools of budget analysis

To understand the budget, analyse the budget and interpret the budget, one must first of all overcome any fear of the technical, be prepared to ask questions of those in the know and have enormous patience.

For this process, a number of tools are useful:

a. amass all relevant existing data (old budgets, old budget reports, articles, monographs, etc.)

b. ask many specific questions (in writing) to those responsible for putting the budget together such as differences between budget and expenditures, differences between lines and employees, % of the budget which is administrative, instructional, supportive services.)

c. Begin to contruct a research program focusing in on:

1. spending to budgets comparisons
2. changes in ratios between administrative and instructional costs over time
3. comparisons to other cities
4. implementations of old (audit?) reports (budget and management)

4. Generate broad knowledge about your program and support for your work.

It is crucial to begin to cultivate a constituency around your work. Mobilize people and groups by including them in the development of your research program. Keep them aware of your progress and circulate through outreach sessions, media events, etc. your findings. Don't be afraid of public release of your research at press conferences, public distribution of testimony at public hearings, use of community newsletters, bulletins, etc. Your message needs a broad audience, and the media is a key to reaching such an audience.

5. Don't be intimidated

Your work, your agenda, your growing data base and awareness may be quite threatening to a variety of individuals and/or existing power groups who will be threatened by your program. Try to hold your group

together by getting validation for your work from those of renown in your community academicians, businessmen, etc. Don't allow yourself to be intimidated.

6. Political Action

Make it your business to understand just how budget decisions get made - formally and informally. Political relationships and interests are often not as apparent as other types of processes. People generally make decisions based upon the interests they are put in position to protect. Oftentimes these special interests take precedence over system interests or the interest of the whole. It is important to understand those interests and be prepared to work with them. Budgetary reform often can take place before budjetary process reform and can often be a wedge for the latter. To achieve this budgetary reform you must be prepared to commit your supporters, understand your opposition and be sensitive to what information and/or public pressure will be necessary to amass a higher level of support.

7. Oversight/Monitoring

Audits, consultant reports, studies and evaluations of educational programs, budgets, management system, etc. proliferate. Perhaps one in ten such documents are seriously addressed to the point where recommendations are initiated. Bureaucracies, and educational bureaucracies are no exception, can often stall for generations the implementation of such recommendations. They can even support the recommendations and kill the implementation of them throught the sloth of the bureaucratic system. Here is where the coalition must be most diligent. Set up a monitoring program, insist on written benchmarks and timetables for program

implementation, re-release your reports, issue scorecards or report cards to those charged with acting on your recommendations and perhaps most importantly don't lost sight of the budget after it is passed or approved. Undertand the budget modification process, use of reimbursable funds, surpluses, roll-overs, deficits, etc. Knowledge is power.

Conclusion

What we have discussed here, albeit briefly, is a specific educational change strategy. That a coalition of parent and civic groups was able to achieve change through utilization of a series of actions aimed at the budget is not so remarkable. What is important are the lessons that we can take from this experience and then communicate broadly around the country.

Firstly, we must all keep in mind the overall framework for this discussion -- the current state of public education. Declining enrollments, increased costs, increasing dissatisfaction with pupil performance and a general sense from the population at large that our public systems are becoming less and less accountable either fiscally or programmatically. This is exemplified with the national hysteria called "proposition 13 fever." Those interested in a simplistic tax cut solution to a broader set of societal problems should not be taken lightly. Those not sympathetic to the goals of public education will, if given a chance, take a meat axe to our education budgets and the results may be devastating. It is then essential that the concerned educational community -- parent, citizens at large, teachers, bureaucrats recognize this as a serious threat and begin to take a scalpel to our budgets and begin the process of administrative and programmatic reform. A maximum amount of dollars must go for services in order to legitimize the case of our public schools.

The Educational Priorities Panel is an example of such an effort, further, it is a classic example of the "outsider strategy" as opposed to those efforts that try to seek reform through collaboration, consultation, mediation -- the "inside strategy". Were the bureaucracy less resistent to the push for reform, perhaps the ousider strategy would have been less compelling in New York City. Clearly for other individuals/agencies/organizations around the country this choice of strategies is dependent upon local coalitions, governance differences, or past practices. In New York, it proved the right strategy.

As to the modes of operation of educational change agents, we cannot minimize the importance of EPP developing a strong financial base for its operations. Beginning with the support of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, EPP began to put together a consortium of foundations supportive not only of EPP's philosophy but their public policy/advocacy strategy. This allowed for a professional staff, the development of a strong and effective research program and an agressive public liaison program. However, in smaller communities the need for the staff operation and all that it represents would reduce by degrees and with local support the appropriate level of funds could be secured.

The specific techniques utilized by EPP are not meant to be an exclusive list of techniques. Clearly in other cities, with other issues, the techniques could vary. This does suggest an important jumping-off point.

In terms of the long-term projections for such citizen action strategies, the ultimate and appropriate relationship with the local Board of Education and professional staff must be struck. For this to develope in the best possible way, it would be important for the citizen group not to officially link or especially be funded by the education system. An independent base through private dollars (foundations/corporations) or memberships, needs to be achieved so that this citizen group can operate on a co-equal basis with the school system.

Ultimately the federal government, which has not as yet shown any real disposition to finance efforts of this type must be turned around to become a source of funds for such projects. In the interim, increased focus of private corporate and foundation dollars towards such education reform programs must be achieved.

Direct service and demonstration programs must be the province of the government but private dollars designed to achieve redirection or maximization of government dollars is a much larger payoff for all concerned, and is the responsibility of private philanthropy.

This brief paper is meant to relate a story and offer some suggestions for future direction drawn from that story. More importantly, however, it is meant to begin a dialogue on the issues of citizen access, change strategies, coalitioning, etc. as they apply to public education, and to suggest that without an informed, active, involved and powerful third force -- a citizen/parent force -- our public education system and ultimately our society will be in serious trouble.

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THE EDUCATING COMMUNITY

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There exists an urgent need to redefine the relationship between American communities and schools: to redefine "community" in such a way so as to focus on the interdependence of the various social contexts in which the individuals of a community operate, and to accept the reality that the community educates and correlates schooling with the enculturation and socialization processes which take place in other social contexts. Urbanization and the demands of an increasingly mobile and diverse population have upset traditional notions of community and school. Inevitably, the way community and school formerly conspired to school, enculturate; and socialize its youth has also changed. Yet, while we have been reformulating our conceptions of community and school, we have not rerelated community and school in a new way. The American system has clearly failed to develop an educational strategy for dealing holistically with the development, the educating, of its youth. This is evidenced by the incredible lack of consistency in the roles and statuses assigned adolescent youths by the community contexts they are exposed to, as well as by the lack of congruence among reforms being instituted in these various contexts, reforms which are intended to deal with the generally recognized failure of schools to prepare youths to lead physically,

emotionally, and socially healthy lives.

Historically, "community" has always denoted territoriality -- a place. The community was where one lived and worked, where one's children went to school and where one's family went to church. It could also be safely said that communities involved numbers of people who shared similar views and values. Both community and school were social inventions, "institutions" really, through which its members sought to maximize the satisfaction of certain needs and desires, both for themselves and their children.

Schools grew up as the community in microcosm. In fact, the establishment of the school, along with the establishment of the church, often marked the transformation of a random settlement into a residential community. School and community were scarcely separable and it was in school, as much as anywhere else, that generations of American boys and girls learned the ways of their community. In addition, however, to socializing youth to a way of life, schools were also viewed as a major vehicle for social improvement. Even before Dewey, Americans held fast to the belief that education was the treatment of choice for social ills.

Rapid social change has sullied the pretty picture of American community and school as one. Traditional American ideals, around which communities and schools were originally fashioned - - ideals of tranquility, communion with nature, solitude, pleasure in harmony, knowledge as an intrinsic good, and happiness achieved through personal relationships -- have been seemingly defiled by urbanization. American communities are now experiencing poverty more oppressive, crime more senseless, racism more blind and anomie more total than ever before.

With our vast increase in mobility -- which has not only brought distant places and people closer, but has also separated home from work and parents from children and grandparents -- "community" has come more and more to

connote less a "place" and more a sense of shared common interest. This is especially true in our cities where blacks in one part of town may feel more proximity to blacks in another part of town than to their immediate white neighbors. Communities, as we used to know them, are more and more composed of prople with varying values and concerns.

Schools are no longer the institutions American communities universally rely on to educate their youth. As communities have become increasingly heterogeneous in population, hot debates have arisen over what the "best" education for each child means. In some communities, people are questioning whether schools -- at least as we know them -- will long continue to exist. It seems likely, at the very least, that much of the educative responsibility now in the schools' province will soon be turned over to other community institutions. For if forty years ago the schools were viewed as progressive institutions and instruments of social change, today they are often viewed as conservative institutions against which the forces for change in any given community must wage a constant fight.

There are many examples of the possibilities of congruence among the various social institutional contexts for education in a community. One of the most fruitful seems to be the success of educational television programming for early childhood. But there are more frequent examples of the discontinuity and lack of congruence among these various social contexts and particularly in their relationship to the school. Nowhere is this lack of congruence and discontinuity more visible than in our approach to adolescent education.

The Community Contexts of Adolescent Education

One of the most compelling and contemporary problems in our society is the failure of the American high school to prepare young people for a life of work and social responsibility. A number of recent commentators have rediscovered the aimless and lonely crowd in the corridors of our secondary schools. Since the late 1960's, the Panel on Youth of the President's Science Advisory Committee, the National Commission on the Reform of Secondary Education, the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, the National Manpower Institute, the Senate Committee on Youth and a number of private sector and local commissions have examined American high schools. Whether they comment on the alienation of youth, the reconsideration of individual freedom and social responsibility or deal more directly with growing violence and vandalism in schools, each indicts the high school for its failure to orient youth to any system of social values and individual accountability.

This concern over the increasing evidence that high schools are failing is shared by educators and the public as well. Sometimes, as in the case of Why Johnny Can't Read we are troubled by the school's inability to provide the technological and cultural literacy we feel is necessary in modern society. In other cases we become alarmed because the school seems unwilling or unable to socialize youth to an understanding and acceptance of our moral values and social controls. The alarming increases in crime and violence now taking place in suburban as well as urban high

schools are the most dramatic examples of our failure to develop such understanding and acceptance in youth. We have always been concerned with problems of discipline, lack of interest and attention and disrespect for teachers and for rules as barriers to effective teaching and efficient learning. Such disruptive behavior was not, however, what the National Educational Association had in mind when it recently described "juvenile gangsterism, stealing, armed assault and even murder" as spreading to suburban as well as urban high schools. Neither does it seem to be what was meant when, in early 1977, the Senate Committee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency described "violence, crime and vandalism" as "serious, and in some cases urgent, sicknesses in our schools".

It was this same social and educational conflict which respondents had in mind when they answered "lack of discipline" to the Gallup Poll question, What do you see as the most important question facing high schools?" in every year since 1969 except 1971 when it was second to "how to pay for schools". Thus, while crime and violence are the most dramatic examples of the malaise of the American high school, the erosion of individual initiative, respect for discipline and preparation for a life of productive work and social responsibility which we know can lead to such problems are spreading to many of our best private and public secondary schools. Most people today view all of these problems--vandalism, violence, crime, student demonstrations, racial disorders, student use of drugs and alcohol--as requiring immediate remedial action by the schools themselves. Certainly the specific problems are important. But as serious as they are in contemporary terms, the more fundamental question which underwrites each specific problem is one of what values and skills young people are acquiring in high schools and how these intersect with what they are learning and experiencing in other community contexts.

It is now almost 75 years since G. Stanley Hall introduced the conception of adolescence as an age-specific period of storm and stress and precisely 50 years since Margaret Mead's classical study of maturation in Samoa made both the concept of adolescence and the controversy over its universality an issue for generations of college-educated Americans. Since that time, the scientific literature as well as the popular culture have continued the controversy and if there is any agreement, it is on the problematic nature of adolescence. Indeed, there is considerable evidence that the problem or problems of adolescence is what continues to give saliency to the concept. Various social problems which statistically identify this age continue to make us aware of adolescence:

-- Only 75% of ninth grade students complete the twelfth grade;

-- While persons 16 to 24 years old comprise one-fourth of the total labor force, they account for almost one-half of the total unemployment in the United States;

-- Between 1960 and 1977, despite the legalization of abortion, illegitimacy increased by about one-third among 18-19 year olds, and by three-fourths among 14-17 year olds, and teenage pregnancy rates are higher in the United States than in other industrialized countries, and even in some unindustrialized nations;

-- The recent Safe Schools Study mandated by the United States Senate found that violence and crime among 7th grade students showed a dramatic rate of increase, and that violence among female junior high school students was rapidly increasing.

Adolescence has most frequently been studied as a developmental stage responsive to biological and psychological processes of individuals without reference to socio-cultural or educative contexts. Where researchers have concentrated on the social contexts, studies have either focused on small-scale, stable societies which are not shifting and redefining roles and statuses of their members under the pressure of rapid social change or, more frequently, have taken a social problems appraoch and concentrated on

some specific contextual-problem definition of adolescence. Even the extensive literature of the 1960s which did focus on the social problems of adolescents in a changing society lacked an empirical approach to the analysis of behavior in social contexts since the literature's problem-solving origins constrained its behavioral focus to drug abuse, school violence, alienation and other predefined problems. These distinctive foci have, necessarily, also determined the questions asked and the methods used to seek answers. I believe that what has been lost is the psychosocial interplay not only between individuals and institutions, single minds and collective forces as it were, but that we have failed to look at the interactive effects of differing institutional definitions of child-adult transition and the resulting tension between inner and outer experience as well. More pertinently, we have consequently failed to develop an educational strategy for dealing holistically with adolescent education.

An holistic approach here means viewing adolescent development as occurring within distinctive local contexts that form social systems--systems composed of a range of norms, internal and external relationships, and varieties of task performance and transactional processes. Whereas a single community context may contain several competing definitions of proper education for adolescents deriving from families, educational institutions, the criminal justice system, adolescent peer groups and the mass media, for example, the individual adolescent must learn to cope with each set of expectations and to negotiate the conflicts imposed when competing expectations result in role strain.

Considered in this context as a social system, the conflict is not between school and community, but in agreeing on what community means. The term "community" of course, contains an established an precise scientific usage which differs considerably from many popular usages of the word.

Arensberg and Kimball (1972) and others in the field of community studies, have pointed to the definitive requirement that a community must contain all the roles recognized in the culture. Yet even if a given community satisfies this definition, it does not necessarily have to be free of conflict, to be physically arranged in nucleated settlements, or held together by sentimental ties, so long as the individuals involved are mutually inter-dependent. Thus, while we tend to think of urban communities and then suburban fringes as communities, the dispersed farm patterns of the American Mid-West or rural Italy or Ireland belong to a recognizable community form even though they lack the nucleated settlements often thought of as "communities" (Arensberg, Kimball, ibid; Ianni, 1972). Similarly, the traditional Southern town was another definite type of community, even though great separation and even hostility prevailed between the white and black populations.

Getzels has recently called attention to the fact that the inter-dependence of school and community is accepted as a truism among educators even though the meanings attached to the concept "community" are many and divergent (1978). Getzels then goes on to describe some of these definitions of community and how each dimension of community can constitute a source of school conflict. The strength of this conception of the community for our purpose here is that it focuses attention on the inter-dependence of the various institutions and settings within the community. Thus, this view of the educating community does not take away present functions from the school but rather accounts in detail for the ways in which community structure and processes as experienced through institutional contexts interact with individual personality and environmental factors to produce behaviors and motivations, attitudes, and role-models for youngsters as they move from childhood to adulthood. The configurations which can be described with these methods are not prescribed and obvious; instead, they vary significantly both within

and between communities. The possibility of the existence of this kind of functional autonomy of sub-systems within a larger system has become recognized in the theory of complex organizations (Blau and Meyer, 1971). This phenomenon has recently been proposed as an area of serious concern in the study of schools (Weick, 1976), where the phrase "loose coupling" has been suggested as an apt characterization of functional relationships of sub-systems in educational organizations. I am suggesting that the different institutional settings of an entire community may be "loosely coupled" with respect to the changing roles and statuses of the period of transition between childhood and adulthood.

Thus, we can conceive of the community as a social system, though not necessarily on which does not contain competing norms. Within that system there exist a number of sub-systems, institutional domains which contain their own codes of rules and which may possess a certain degree of autonomy from the other sub-systems. I believe that the distinctive roles and statuses assigned to adolescents in eacho of these partially autonomous domains may come into conflict for the individual who exists in all of these sub-systems simultaneously. A review of the literature on community and education raises many questions about the nature of these changes in such domains as the family, the labor market, schools, the criminal justice system, the mass media and the peer groups. Once again, consider the evidence for the major educating socioinstitutional contexts in a typical community:

Education

Several commissions and authors have recently raised questions about the changing goals of junior and high schools (Passow, 1976) as well as about the newly emerging educational form of the two-year college. (a setting some critics claim to be merely an extension of high school designed to keep young people out of the labor market more than to provide needed training).

These arguments all pose serious questions about the relationship of education to employment. I have found in my own high school field studies that the analysis of educational policy proceeds in a vacuum, that is, divorced from questions of the relation of school to larger community, was a fruitless task (Ianni, 1976). In fact, most of the serious problems of the modern high school, including drop-outs, violence, desegregation, stratification of the curriculum, students rights, and the current status of *in loco parentis*, cannot be adequately studied without situating the school in the community from which it receives its organizational and educational mandates.

Employment

The high unemployment rates of young people, particularly in minority neighborhoods, has been one of the chief casualties of the recession years. Lack of employment is readily blamed for both the problems of the schools, as discussed above, as well as for changing attitudes towards youthful criminal offenders. These topics have so engaged public attention in recent years as to produce one of the Federal Government's chief social initiatives of the 1970's, the massive Comprehensive Employment Training Act program. The pitfalls of trying to develop a separate and isolated employment policy have been illustrated by the initial efforts of CETA. The CETA program's mandates to train for and/or provide immediate employment for those most deprived of employment have led to an endless series of complications. This mandate contradicts other social trends (the increase in educational credentialing, for example) by creating a new institutional sector. In this process, the new institution finds itself replicating functions of already existing institutions (the schools, families, occupational networks) while coming into conflict with the existing institutions and still facing

the same problems.

During a recent evaluation of a joint U.S. Department of Labor and National Institute of Education program in which CETA funds were being used to attract teen-age drop-outs back to school by establishing a work-study program, I found an anecdotal example of how the interplay of institutional domains within the same community confounds the social context. In this small city we were studying, the school representatives were meeting with job placement specialists to decide on admissions requirements to the program. A number of the drop-outs from the school had police records with arrests for crimes ranging from prostitution and drug selling to murder and rape. The job representative was arguing for full-employment but the principal argued that he did not want to re-admit the drug sellers because they would cause a resurgence of drug selling in the school. The representative from the PTA argued that none of the ex-offenders should be re-admitted because of their potential danger to other youngsters. The final outcome as a screening process which was aimed at re-admitting everyone except convicted murders and rapists.

Criminal Justice

New York State, among a number of others, has recently seen a dramatic change in attitudes towards juvenile crime. Whereas the national trends in education and employment have been to raise the socially defined age of entry into adult responsibilities, New York has recently lowered the age at which criminal offenders may be tried and sentenced as adults. The rise in youthful crime rates in urban areas was largely responsible for the new law. In my view, the new laws and attitudes must be understood in the context of a particular kind of community configuration, in which demographics, ethnic succession of neighborhoods, and the already mentioned high youth unemployment rates must all be taken into account. The fact is that the

populations of our central cities are now much younger and belong to recent immigrant groups. The crisis in urban education and employment leave many of these young people without any form of legitimate activity. In addition, they live in neighborhoods which were once occupied by people of different cultural groups from themselves. Most of the earlier immigrants have advanced economically and have moved geographically. Of those who remain, a disproportionate number are poor and elderly and easy victims of the poor and unemployed young, who share no common cultrual understandings or personal networks. The spectacle of the victimization of the elderly was largely responsible for the new criminal laws. The early reports on the use of the new statutes, however, indicate that most juveniles are not remanded to the adult courts. Apparently, the social re-definition of the termination of adolescence cannot easily be accomplished in a single institutional domain.

The Family

The rights of the family to control their youthful members seem to have been eroding for some time, although this trend has its vicissitudes. The tension between the family and institutions representing the wider society has been demonstrated in the history of in loco parentis laws. Once well accepted, these laws are now once again controversial. In many states, for example, the rights of the educational system to control young people are so established that schools are the only social institutions legally franchised to practice physical discipline. The Supereme Court recently upheld the right of states to make such laws. An opposing trend has been the student rights movement. Many school systems now must define much more precisely the extent of a student's rights and submit to formal hearings on such matters. Although the increasing acceptance of student's rights does represent an encroachment on in loco parentis, this movement does not return rights to control the young to the family but to the individual youths themselves.

Another area in which the family's ability to control its members is being eroded is that of adolescent sexuality. In many areas, the question of whether planned parenthood programs should be able to provide birth control devices without parental knowledge or consent is becoming controversial.

Most recently, however, voices have been raised to protest the intrusion of all sorts of social agencies into the family. Christopher Lasch (1977) has recently called for a return to the vision of the family as the bastion of privacy and autonomy. Lasch's point of view amounts to a rejection of much of the model of liberal social intervention that has guided progressive social thought and policy for the last few generations. The very societal solutions we have tried to construct for various social problems, in this view, are now one of the major problems.

Mass Media

Small Town in Mass Society (Vidich and Bensmen, 1968) rightfully stands as one of the classic American community studies. Since this study demonstrated the influence of the mass media on the structure and ideology of the local community, we have never been able to conceive of the "community" as an isolate, as being completely particular or even typical of one distinctive region. The mass media, we now realize, bind local communities into a larger society in important ways. Though their limited content leaves a great deal of room for local variations of the kind we are arguing are often forgotten, the media do represent a kind of national and even global community.

The role of mass media seems particularly crucial in the definition of adolescent roles and statuses. The media indeed are the principal sources and disseminators of the rapidly changings styles of so-called "youth culture". Adolescents have now been recognized for some time as a distinctive consumer

market and are so studied and "targeted" in a systematic fashion by business interests, for whom the latest youth fads represent huge markets.

Peer Group

In many ways, the domain of adolescent activity least understood by social scientists, because least studied, is that of the adolescent peer group. Talcott Parsons (1964), among others, has suggested that the peer group performs an essential role in socialization by providing a sphere of social activity in which young people relate as equals. Equally intriguing, however, is the notion that the peer group, besides playing functional roles in perpetuating the existing social order, as the functionalists assume, may also be a primary arena for social change. If adolescent peer-groups do have a degree of autonomy within the community, as we are suggesting, it may well be that it is within these peer groups that new attitudes and values appropriate to a changing world come to be formulated. The conflicting demands of other instituional domains may find their resolution for adolescents in those domains of activity and association where he or she has the most autonomy from adult supervision.

The Educating Community and Social Change

What we have seen about the discontinuties of education for adolescence which results from the normative variation of the social contexts within which adolescents are socialized is true of education at all levels. While we might argue that elementary and early childhood levels of education do not compete with the job market, the variations from families, peer groups and the mass media are just as salient for youngsters as for youth. Each of the social institutional contexts I have described organizes a distinctive, and sometimes competing, area of learning for the young people who are exposed to it. While we assume that cognitive learning is the primary domain of the school, a notion which could be questioned, what about the equally

important area of socialization, the process by which youngsters learn to think about education as well as other aspects of society? Each of the social contexts also organizes a distinctive area of enculturation and socialization which, following Herskovits, I see as different processes. (Herskovits, 1948, pp 326-27) Social learning and adaptation take place through both enculturation and socialization but the source of what is learned as well as the learning process differs in each. I prefer to use the concept of encultruation to describe the process of cultural conditioning through which individuals are expected to learn socially standardized responses to cultural stimuli. Essentially, it is a one-way process of cultural transmission through which we attempt to produce culturally competent individuals. Socialization, on the other hand, I see as transactional and as describing a process by which the individual--adult as well as child--is integrated into the social organization of some institution or community. It is through socialization that new, adaptive attitudes and behaviors are acquired by individuals. Thus, if the school defines its role as centering on cognitive learning and acculturation, youth are increasingly socialized by other social institutions and the direction and control of social change are also abbrogated to other institutions.

It is important to note that many of the social changes I described earlier in looking at employment and the criminal justice system are, in fact changes and not mere fluctuations. As is true of all social change, they have created and will continue to produce social problems for communities. To understand the importance of these changes, as well as the complexity of determining how to manage them, remember that the nature of the social structure is such that a change in any element of the system is likely to demand adjustment in another--and that changes in one part of the structure may produce problems in another. Inevitably, the school then

becomes the reluctant victim of these changes.

Social changes within communities in recent times have been of several different types, and often they have occurred concurrently. Some changes are structural, as smaller units are consolidated into larger ones or large ones are broken up into smaller ones. Thus the consolidation of schools and the opposite process of decentralization have been much more the result of changing community structure than the products of educational planning. Changes in value systems have transformed what was once a homogeneous community--no matter that the togetherness may have been forced--into a heterogeneous one. For example, we agree today on the precept of the best education for every child, but there is violent disagreement on what "best" means. When such discontinuities in values occur, the relationship between school and community is also bound to change.

Institutions such as education, however, are not fixed monolithic structures, nor are they a series of organizational relationships which can be diagrammed and changed by merely drawing new diagrams or recasting organizational charts. Institutions, in my usage, are well established and structured behavioral patterns. These patterns are first established by some and subsequently learned by others who share common values and goals. What becomes institutionalized in this process is the conversion of human energy and intelligence into a pattern of behaviors which are productively efficient in maximizing social goals. An institution, then,is a mode of behavior, a structural set of rules of the game which regularizes all activities within that institution. If one would build a new institution or transform an existing organizational structure, it is to behavior and attitudes rather than structure that he should look.

For me then, the question is not "What will the community of the future look like so that we can relate the school to it (or vice versa)."

Instead we would define the optimal structure for an institution called "education" where the criterion of educational effectiveness takes precedence over the relative rights and obligations of school or community. Increasingly "school" and "community" as they refer to the educating institution will become one concept instead of two.

In his brilliant essay Civilization and its Discontents, Freud asked, "What would be the use of the most acute analysis of social neurosis since no one possesses the power to compel the community to adopt the therapy?" (Freud, 1930).

There are, of course, any number of other social changes in the community which create social problems and so demand change in the educational system. Bigness, bureaucracy and alienation are only a few of these. By and large, the educational responses, however, have been fashioned by the traditional value structure. Given political, social and technological obstacles to innovation in the schools we have sought to get change by buying it. Massive federal, state and even local funds have been poured into any number of programs which were designed to improve education. Faced with the growth of cities we first responded in kind by consolidation and, when bigness and remoteness became equated in public perception we reversed the trend and tried decentralization. Any number of such attempts to reconnect school and community have been attempted in the last two decades and yet none seems to have produced any substantial gains in student achievement. In many cases, it may be too soon to tell. But in each case, there is an obvious and evident inability to escape either the traditional concept of "the school", or the historic definition of "the community" and to retain the valued relationship between them. But since both school and community

have changed, so must the relationship, not by creating new structures, such as work or community centers which compete with high schools but by accepting the reality that the community educates and correlates schooling with the enculturation and socialization which takes place in other social contexts.

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TWO PARTNERSHIP MODELS AIMED AT EASING TRANSITION FROM SCHOOL TO THE WORLD OF WORK

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Two Partnership Models aimed at Easing Transition from School to the World of Work

Looking at the topics this conference seeks to address, and particularly the topic of Emerging Partnerships, which is the area we are dealing with today and the subject of my paper, the work of Lawrence Cremin comes to mind immediately. I believe Cremin, in Public Education and the Education of the Public, defined the issues conceptually and lucidly. He draws attention to the fact that schools are only one of many institutions which educate; because families educate, churches educate, day care centers, libraries, TV stations and places of work all educate. And all have curricula which they teach deliberately and systematically over time.

To think of schools alone in the kind of educational world we live in today is to have almost a fortress neutrality. Cremin therefore urges us to think comprehensively, relationally and publicly about schools. [1]

Thinking comprehensively refers to the belief that the public schools have never functioned alone or in isolation. Where they have been successful, they have funtioned as part of a large configuration of institutions including families, churches, business interests and others, committed essentially to complementary values.

The concept of relationality deals more with process. It means that all efforts in education should go forward not in isolation from other educative institutions but in relation to them and in conjunction with them. In some subject areas, of course, the school originates much of what it teaches. Mathematics is an example. But in other areas such as language or social studies, the child has his first and probably most persuasive

learning elsewhere.[2] Schools, to be effective, therefore must not only be aware of this but must learn to engage the instruction of these other educators to strengthen and complement its activities. The other educators, the editors, pastors, directors of community centers, of course should do the same.[3]

This concept of thinking of education comprehensively and relationally may have important financial implications. Public education faces serious financial problems at present. You have heard of Proposition 13, teachers contracts and declining enrollment. Together, these cause problems for school budget makers. As the concept of a much broader base of educational institutions becomes better understood, the cost burden of "schooling" could and should be shared in part with other educational institutions.

The two specific examples or partnership models which I shall talk about are illustrations of activities which fit well into the framework Cremin outlined and represent two completely different approaches to specific problem areas.

Transition from school to the world of work has become a major problem for many students, and a particularly acute one in large urban centers where large numbers of youngsters live in areas which are physically and psychologically removed from the mainstream of social and economic activity.

Open Doors is a direct, hands-on attempt to tackle this problem. The task of preparing students to make the transition from school to work is enormous, critical, and too big for the schools alone the organization states in their annual report. It requires collaboration from all groups: business, labor, educators and the community at large.

But schools need a broker, a collaborative mechanism, to establish contact with the world of work. That is what Open Doors tries to be.

An independent, non-profit agency launched in 1970, Open Doors is currently part of the NYC Economic Development Council, and supported by them (EDC) as well as by foundations and corporations.

Major activities fall into four areas:

1. Speakers: Contacts for Students

Giving students direct contact, through speaker programs, with working adults is a major service of Open Doors. A teacher can call Open Doors to obtain a work world representative - a lawyer, banker, policeman, construction worker, union official, personnel representative - to visit classes to talk on such topics as bookkeeping, credit, job interview techniques and career opportunities. For many students these visits are their first and only chance to meet face to face with persons from the business and professional world.

In 1977, Open Doors sent 360 speakers into classrooms reaching approximately 11,000 students.

Linked with this activity, Open Doors publishes "Guides to Business and Community Resources" for each borough which lists work places one can visit, where they are, what they do, and whom to contact to arrange a visit.

2. Workshops: Contacts for Educators

Bringing educators out of schools and into places of industry and government, helping them meet and exchange information with representatives of the outside work world, is another important service of Open Doors.

Workshops for teachers are held primarily during the summer and teachers usually receive a small stipend, and in some cases in-service credit, for

attending. Last summer one of the workshops, a career guidance institute funded by the Department of Labor, used the method of having teachers function as reporters. The outcome was a major resource book called What's It Like To Work In New York City.

3. Law Programs

For some reason law has been and continues to be a topic of major interest for many students. The New York State Bar Association responded actively and generously to this challenge and, as a result, a large number of all types of lawyers as well as district attorneys are visiting classrooms, and a special Consumer Law Institute for 20 social studies and business education teachers was run in the summer of 1977.

Two law curriculum units, The Criminal Justice System and Youth and the Law were produced by Open Doors for use by teachers at the high school and even junior high school level.

4. Curriculum Materials

In addition to the curriculum materials mentioned which are related directly to the activities described, Open Doors renders other services in the curriculum field. They help channel to schools useful, free educational material produced by industry; they produce a number of topical materials geared to helping students explore the city's work scene; and they help teachers to develop and publish materials.[4]

This brief description of Open Doors' activities illustrates their contribution. In Cremin's terms, they try to extend the comprehensive and relational dimensions, and thereby add to the effectiveness of schools.

The proposal to develop a Social Learning Curriculum represents a completely different approach to the same challenge: how to put greater and more effective emphasis on preparing students to function in

society and the world of work.

It is a proposal to create a full range (K-12) of curriculum materials which emphasize and refine critical social/adaptive skills as part of school programs. The materials are designed chiefly for use with disadvantaged students, but may prove useful for all.

The proposal is not to start from scratch but to adapt, modify, field test and evaluate existing Social Learning Curriculum materials which were recently developed for exceptional children.[5]

The concept on which the Social Learning Curriculum is based can be summarized as follows: 1) Many underprivileged students miss learning and maturation experiences which other children have as part of their life; 2) The resulting lack of social skills, ie., ability to adapt behavior and apply knowledge becomes a major hurdle for them once they leave school and seek work; and 3) these skills can be taught and a structured curriculum can be devised to make up for these deficiencies.

We define disadvantaged children as those whose families are poor and those who live in isolated or segregated communities such as inner city ghettos, chicano ghettos, indian reservations or isolated rural communities.

Disadvantaged children do less well in school, drop out more frequently and find it far more difficult to get jobs when they leave school.

Chief causes, often cites, are consequences of poverty and isolation such as limited family education, family problems, poor housing, lack of job opportunities, etc. In our view, equally important causes are lack of social skills which enable those who possess them to make use of what they know and thereby function and compete effectively in society.

Lack of social skills, and consequent lack of ability to adapt and apply what one knows, result in inappropriate, maladaptive behaviors. Due to lack of exposure, the individual either has not learned an appropriate response for a situation, or he has not learned to anticipate the results of his action. Often the individual's priorities are poorly ordered. The high school student arrives late for an important qualifying exam and finds himself barred from taking it. Or the factory worker places bathing far down the list of important morning activities and finds he is not readily accepted by the other workers. At other times, communication skills are lacking. A cafeteria worker tells his boss he won't be in tomorrow, instead of asking for the day off. Consequences are inability to make use of what opportunities may exist, first in school, later in life.

The need for identifying and addressing this skill area, adapting and applying what one knows, is sharply illustrated by the experiences in states which have begun to use competency assessment tests. The 1977-78 statewide assessment program in Florida, for example, included in addition to basic skill mastery questions, questions designed to ascertain ability to apply basic skills or minimum survival skills, such as ability to write a letter requestioning information. Selected data from the results released by Florida are summarized in Table 1 (appended). Note the wide discrepancy in mastery of survival skills, i.e., ability to function in the real world, between predominantly middle class (white) and predominantly disadvantaged (black) children. Note further the much smaller discrepancy between the groups in basic skills mastery, #24 and #12, as compared with the other questions which test survival skills, i.e., the ability to apply and use basic skills.

Until recently, it was assumed that teaching basic skills was enough, that those who possess them will be able to draw on learning from other life experiences to adapt and apply them effectively and function successfully in society. For disadvantaged children, who have not been exposed to many varied life experiences, this is less true than for middle and upper class children. And even when teachers recognize this, they do not have materials and programs readily at hand to address this problem.

The developers of the Social Learning Curriculum felt strongly that the development of appropriate adaptive behaviors should be the keystone of a total educational program. Learning about the self and understanding and accepting the self were seen as an essential, initial tool in learning to act, react and interact in society. Relating to family, neighborhood and community are subsequent steps. A full list of topics covered is shown in Table 2.

Note that mnay of the topics during the junior high years deal with skills needed to prepare for the world of work, and during the high school years more directly with skills needed to function in the world of work.

Career education has similar goals but tries to address them in a more direct, behavioristic fashion. The Social Learning Curriculum deals with a broader, more comprehensive concept over a long period of time.

Describing it in another way we could say it identifies a new subject. To date we have taught math, writing, reading, social studies, etc. but when youngsters went out into the world of work, many had trouble. The transition proved difficult. There had been a failure to teach how to adapt and apply what was learned effectively. It was assumed youngsters would know how to do it, but we find that many don't. The Social Learning

Curriculum attempts to define this deficiency, the skills needed and to create curriculum materials to fill this gap.

A proposal to develop and use this curriculum is currently under consideration by NIE and the NYC Board of Education.

In a completely different way from Open Doors, this curriculum proposal also attempts to strengthen some of the comprehensive and relational dimensions Cremin talked about.

Finally, Cremin suggests we must deal publicly with education. The point which concerned him most was that we should seek to influence educational policy more through public debate and legislative action than through the courts.

I believe another aspect of "publicly" is important. Both models described in this brief presentation stress the need to extend education beyond the school, and to involve and engage a wider group than school personnel in the education process. If carried out, this should help bring about more public interest, debate and encourage public support. As Cremin has pointed out in some of his earlier writing, broad lay support is essential for education to continue its role of significance in our society.

The two models discussed, which stress a broadening of the educational base and fuller input from many sources, represent a step in this direction.

1. Lawrence, A. Cremin, "Public Education and the Education of the Public," Teachers College Record, September 1975, Vol. 77, No. 1.

2. Ibid., p. 8

3. Ibid., p. 9

4. Open Doors, 1977 Annual Report, 380 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10017.

5. Herbert Goldstein, The Social Learning Curriculum, Columbus, Ohio: Charles Merrill, 1974.

Table 1

Florida Department of Education
Selected Results from the
1977-78 Statewide Assessment Program

	White	Black
Number of Grade Eleven Students Taking Test*	82,380	22,980
Skill	% of Students Achieving Each Skill	
Mathematics:		
(24) Calculate equivalent amounts of up to $100 using coins and paper currency	98	89
(33) Comparison shopping	51	16
(35) Sales tax	84	48
Communications:		
(12) Who, what, when, where, which and how information in a selection	95	79
(26) Identify best source to get information on a topic	91	59
(32) Write letters to supply or request information	96	74
(33) Complete a check and stub	94	74

*In addition, 10,671 grade eleven students from other ethnic groups were tested. Three quarters of these were hispanics. This group in Florida includes large number of middle or upper middle class Cubans. Scores of the hispanic group were lower but not substantially lower than of the white group.

Table 2

Topics Covered by the Existing Social Learning Curriculum

Primary	Intermediate	Junior High	Senior High
1. Perceiving individuality	11. Identifying Family and Home	17. Utilizing Self and Environment Objects to Good Advantage	23. Traveling Independently
2. Recognizing the Environment	12. Recognizing Basic Physical Needs	18. Emotional Security and Self Expression	24. Making Personal Choices
3. Recognizing Interdependence	13. Recognizing Personal Needs	19. Using Leisure Time Effectively	25. Interacting with Others
4. Recognizing the Body	14. Acting on Interdependence	20. Conserving Resources	26. Becoming a Contributing Society Member
5. Recognizing and Reacting to Emotions	15. Maintaining Self and Environment	21. Managing Money	27. Living as a Member of a Family
6. Recognizing What the Senses Do	16. Communicating Effectively	22. Getting Information and Using Resources in the Community	28. Identifying, Getting and Holding a Suitable Job
7. Communicating with Others			29. Using Money Wisely
8. Getting Along with Others			30. Managing a Home
9. Identifying Helpers			
10. Maintaining Body Functions			

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TOWARDS A CONCEPTUAL MODEL OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF MANAGEMENT AND PLANNING SYSTEMS IN SCHOOLS

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TOWARDS A THEORETICAL MODEL OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF MANAGMENT AND PLANNING SYSTEMS IN SCHOOLS

INTRODUCTION: PURPOSE OF THIS PAPER

The purpose of this paper is to identify conceptual directions, as alternatives for development, of a practical model for the implementation of management and planning systems in schools. Fundamentally, a management and planning system is any rational process for the assessment of institutional operations. It is therefore an information system. In general terms, any and all institutions have their own, built-in and often covert, information systems by which they may come to appreciate the character of the activities of the institution as a whole. The management and planning systems considered here are different in that they are overt, objective management information systems which are introduced into the institution merely to replace or merge with the existing approaches and ways of doing things.

I. THE GENERIC PROBLEM

A. FOUR PROBLEMATICAL 'LACKS'

The imposition of new systems and procedures upon old systems and procedures generates the same kinds of problems as are encountered when any new discipline, new set of rules, body of foreign concepts, etc., are

introduced into an organization. Four broad problems appear to be encountered in the introduction and implementation process:

1 Lack of Information

2 Lack of Understanding

3 Lack of Tools for the Redress and Correction of Problems

4 Lack of Motivations, Positive and Negative

1. LACK OF INFORMATION

a. Amount of Information

Most management and planning systems require significant amounts of information in order to operate effectively. The sheer amount of required information, frequently of a new and/or alien type, requiring new perspectives and perceptions for its accurate collection, can generate serious implementation obstacles. Among these, individuals may and often do object to the time required to collect such information, especially the first few times of use of the system.

b. Quality of Information

Most management and planning systems require significant differences in quality and accuracy of information, going well beyond the standards established by more intuitive and subjective, existing assessment procedures. And in addition, many different kinds of information may be required than formerly employed in assessments. Problems associated with the quality of

information are frequently linked to issues concerning the manageability of the system and its practicality in use.

c. Relationships to Objectives

Management and planning systems tend to require explicit relationships between the information gathered and processed, and the objectives of programs and plans. In the more traditional, intuitive and subjective assessment procedures, such relationships are implied but rarely explicit and almost never articulated. The implementation obstacles here are frequently those of perception rather than technique per se.

d. Alternatives

Objective management and planning systems tend to force users to consider alternatives--and so require information which facilitates the consideration of such choices. Frequently, this process and the information required for it is totally alien to the more traditional, subjective assessment processes which emerge in the course of the developemnt of the organization.

2. LACK OF UNDERSTANDING

a. Approaches of Management and Planning Systems

Management and planning systems which are objective and introduced from outside of the institution or organization are ultimately concerned with the idea of

rational control; they are systems which process information and intelligence so as to be utilized for management decision-making about change. In many instances in school systems, existing and traditional planning systems have been developed for the purposes of rationalizing decisions already made. The replacement of purposes, from expedient rationalization to prudent judgment, is both an intellectual and an emotional jump: Planning systems which are objective frequently place a new and higher degree of responsibility upon decision-makers, and in some instances may make them personally accountable for the decisions they make.

At first, there is far less emotional security in the use of objective accountability systems, since they make explicit many kinds of decisions which could, using more traditional and intuitive approaches, lie hidden and/or be rationalized after the fact. Further, objective planning systems tend to be considered inflexible in the face of brush-fire types of problems which more ad hoc approaches have been designed for; but later, after a system is in use, it acts to assist decision-makers in anticipating brush-fire exigencies and solving them before they occur, as part of the planning and decision-making process.

The lack of understanding about the purposes, perspectives, and effective meaning of management and

planning systems in relation to individual users, decision-makers and the process of rational planning is rarely solved by education programs alone--but it is solved as personnel become familiar in the use of the system.

b. Terminology of Management and Planning Systems

Almost every objective discipline, planning system, information management system, etc. has in its description and procedures for utilization terms and phrases which are either completely alien and new to users, or which mean something entirely different as used previously. Thus in one setting, 'resources' refers only to funds; in another, to audio-visual aids; in another, to management capabilities. It is therefore essential that the implementation process identify the ways in which key terms and phrases are used and understood in the 'host' organization, so that translations and explanations may proceed as a part of the implementation process.

Much of the fear, confusion and resentment which appears in school systems with respect to the implementation of accountability systems is a matter of misunderstanding about the meaning of even the term "management and planning." Alternative phrases, endemic in the school system, might be employed which

defuse threatening terminology, provided such differences can be determined prior to the implementation process. To be safe, management and planning systems which are designed in relative isolation should probably be defined and described in the simplest language possible.

c. Articulation

Many of the methods, procedures and particular requirements of the use of management and planning systems are introduced into organizations without a clear explanation of how they fit into the total system. Such introductions of selected parts, without explanation of significance and relationship to the whole of the system and its use, not only alienates some personnel, but as well may make meaningless the tasks assigned to them. All personnel, regardless of level and function, should realize even at a minimal level, how the system is articulated, and the role(s) they are asked to play in participating in the opeation of the system.

The "smallcreep effect" of a worker contributing a single part of an unknown final product generates confusion, alienation, suspicion and not infrequently, office politics. As well, it leaves some individuals with the impression that they are practicing a meaningless ritual in a religion of dubious faith, and questionable rewards.

3. LACK OF TOOLS FOR THE REDRESS AND CORRECTION OF PROBLEMS

Tools and techniques; instruments, regulations and procedures; and leverages, or means of influence, frequently do not exist in the new process of implementation of an objective planning system. They must be created as the process of introduction and implementation proceeds. There appear to be three associated aspects of this lack of tools for redress and correction:

a. Lack of Expert Advice

Frequently objective planning systems and information management systems are introduced and attempts made to implement them without the recourse of selected participants to expert advice in correcting problems and misunderstandings as they occur. Not only does this frequently result in irresolvable interpersonal conflicts, but as well it may mean the inappropriate application of tools for correction to problems, further confusing the implementation process. And expert advice does not refer to technical advice alone--it also refers to diplomacy and sensitivity in catalysing the merger between new and old systems of management and planning.

b. Differences Between Expectations and Implementation Consequences

Expectations about the consequences of management

and planning systems vary all the way from a panacea for problems to a major, destructive and catastrophic threat. In the delivery of a management and planning system, it is essential that anticipated consequences be presented in a realistic package which will ensure that expectations do not develop out of proportion with the demonstrated capabilities of the system.

c. Ineffective Timing of Feedback

Frequently in the implementation process, the time required for feedback on the correction of problems and obstacles is so lengthy as to reduce the value of individual participation and action. The implementation 'drag' must be planned for in the implementation plan itself, so that those correcting problems and obstacles are aware of the value of their efforts, even when feedback is not immediately forthcoming. The design of mechanisms to ensure some recognition of individual efforts in implementation is essential--even when these efforts prove fruitless over time; what is of value is the enhanced communications process which the new system encourages.

In addition to these three associated aspects of the lack of tools for redress of problems and obstacles as they occur, there is frequently a lack across the organization of the understanding which permits differentiation of personal, unit and organization-as-a-whole problems and obstacles. Given

any of the above circumstances, some individuals who are very much involved in the implementation process will tend to view each insoluable difficulty as a personal defect--even when it may in fact be obvious to others that it is a unit, or organizational system, problem. Others, less personally involved will view all difficulties as faults of the system itself; still others will claim that any difficulty is a product of the inappropriateness of the system for the organization as a whole.

4. LACK OF MOTIVATIONS, POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE

Compensations of various kinds, e.g. rewards and punishments, are essential ingredients in ensuring participation in the implementation of management and planning systems. Implementation plans for management and planning systems, in the past, have frequently relied on myth and threat as the prime motive for involvement. In planning the implementation of a management and planning system, comparative advantages in the use of the new system over the old must be made apparent before and during the implementation process. Those who will not involve themselves must be told, and then shown that non-participation leaves them out of decision-making processes which affect them directly. Those who do not involve themselves must be told, and then shown (via feedback) that their participation is recognized, and that they have a definite role to play.

Without an explicit set of compensations, management and planning systems are frequently perceived as "the emperor's new clothes." They are viewed by some as a new "fashion"; by others as new "tricks" for exerting power and authority; and by still others as meaningless rituals.

B. BROADER PROBLEM OF CHANGE

1. ORGANIZATIONAL EQUILIBRIUM AND CHANGE

The four major types of implementation problems outlined above become most problematical when considered within the context of the broader issues of organizational change. In general, the implementation of any new set of tasks or activities (especially management and planning activities) in an organization constitutes an unsettling of the organizational equilibrium, representing therefore a process of organizational change. All organizations have established ways of seeing themselves and their environments along with customary systems of relationships, both formal and informal, which serve not only to get the work done, but also to control chronic anxieties to which all organizations are subject. These perceptions and relationships are usually disturbed, to a greater or lesser extent, by the introduction of new structural elements, thus bringing to the surface these latent anxieties.

2. ORGANIZATIONAL ANXIETY

All organizations have these chronic, latent anxieties which stem from several sources.

a. Person/Role Disparity

One source, is the human element in all organizational life. When people take on particular membership roles in any organizational group, a conflict is necessarily generated by the disparity between the requirements of the role and the human attributes of the personality. For example, many roles require cooperative followership, while role occupants may be more comfortable with a more competitive, aggressive style of participation. On the other hand, leadership roles often require a certain appropriate distance and firmness, while many leaders, quite humanly, desire more nurturing relations with their followers, becoming angry--feeling betrayed--when such warm relations cannot be maintained. Leadership positions require considerable flexibility in managing the person-role problem, and this flexibility is nearly impossible to achieve on a continuous basis.

b. Goal, Task, and Resource Constraints

Another major source of organizational anxiety is found in conflicts within the task and resource systems of organizations. While schools are charged with the primary task of providing education to clients, they must perform this task at a reasonable

cost (with the definitions of these terms varying over time). Other constraints also enter the complex picture. The conflicts between the various goals, tasks, and resource constraints are frequently enacted by various groups in the organization--centering on persons who occupy roles in more than one group. For example, principals tend to feel caught in a bind between the task system of top management, in which they participate, and that of the building teaching staff, in which they also participate. Conflicts of this nature are virtually unavoidable; and while they tend to be felt most acutely by those (like principals) who occupy positions on the boundary between groups, they are symptomatic of the dynamics of the whole organization and are expressive of its anxieties.

c. Environmental Issues

Other sources of anxiety for the organization include issues originating in the external environment. Environmental issues and demands can be very stressful at times. In the educational realm examples of these stressors range from interactions with frustrated or apathetic parents to major political and social upheavals, including rapid demographic changes.

3. DYNAMICS OF ADJUSTMENT AND ADAPTATION

These anxieties often become attached to one or more of the concrete implementation problems. It is

crucial to the success of any implementation effort that there be adequate attention and planning in relation to these concrete types of implementation problems, so that the emotional issues which surround change may be resolved expeditiously. Avoiding entanglement in 'front' issues greatly facilitates smooth adjustment and adaptation to a new organizational equilibrium.

The following example, drawn from the implementation experience of a New Jersey urban school district, illustrates some of these dynamics of organizational change.

4. EXAMPLE OF THE CHANGE PROBLEM DYNAMICS

This example concerns an urban school district which sought to develop and introduce a long-range (three to five year) planning process at the middle-management level of the district organization. The primary motivation for the introduction of this process was the district superintendent's concern about a passive management style among his building administrators. He felt that many of these managers were not sufficiently invested in innovation to adequately administer the development of new programs in their buildings and that this lack of initiative might be linked to his highly personal control of planning for long-term direction.

a. Lack of Tools Interaction

The first difficulty faced by the group of middle-manager/planners concerned a lack of "tools." This problem existed at a very basic and fundamental level for these planners in that there was a total lack of structure or precedent for system-wide planning at the middle-management level in the district. Thus, all structure (including meeting times, agendas, and internal procedures) had to be created "from scratch" by the group at great expense of time and energy. Furthermore, this lack of tools allowed a great deal of emotional resistance to be invested in related issues. For example, the group passed through a period where its members felt that it was virtually impossible to spare time for bi-weekly meetings. As a result, these meetings were very poorly attended, and it was not possible to proceed with the work.

b. Lack of Understanding Interaction

Other problems concerned lack of understanding. For example, the group experienced a period where members behaved as if their task were to consider and solve all of the problems in the district. A considerable amount of the planners' time and energy were devoted to wide-ranging discussion of political and social dilemmas which they could not hope to resolve. The result was a great deal of diffuse, unfocused, and at times highly irrelevant debate and discourse.

Ultimately, the group began to feel that they had been given an impossible task, the outcome of which would inevitably be a "token gesture." The planners were able to focus many of their feelings about authority in the district on this issue because of a lack of understanding in relation to the realistic purposes, perspectives and effective meaning of the planning activities.

c. Other Interaction Dynamics

There were additional problems related to lack of motivations and lack of information. Motivational difficulties concerned feelings that district commitment to action in relation to planning outcomes was uncertain. Information was a focus of problems in that no support structure existed for its collection. Indeed, there was little understanding at first concerning what types of information might be needed and useful for planning purposes.

d. Consequences of the Dynamic Interactions

Each of these more technical problems encountered by the new middle-management planning group led to (1) a delay in the implementation process, (2) a diffusion of task-related energies, and (3) an increase in experienced frustration among those involved. In addition, (4) these frustrations served to exacerbate

the underlying emotional dynamics associated with change in the district's decision-making structure. This change, because it represented a departure from traditional approaches to leadership in the district, touched upon powerful feelings relative to authority relations which were linked to the organizational dynamics of the district as a whole. The technical difficulties, besides being problematical in and of themselves, impeded the working through of feelings concerning the organization of authority and responsibility by providing convenient 'front' issues for resistance.

II. MANAGERIAL REALITIES

A. ADMINISTRATIVE ASSESSMENTS VS. MANAGEMENT EVALUATIONS

There is an essential distinction, frequently ignored in the planning of implementation processes, between the introduction of mechanical processes of planning for assessment purposes, and the introduction of negotiative processes of planning for evaluative purposes. Assessment is literally the comparison of measurements of mechanical performance against previously determined standards. Evaluation, on the other hand, is the application of goals and values to such comparisons. Assessments refer to the facts of differences between planned and actual effectivness;

evaluations to the importance of these facts to the goals and values of the organization itself. Thus, assessments are more objective, quantifiable and mechanical in conduct, requiring little personal judgment; evaluations are more subjective, qualitative and negotiative in conduct, requiring a great deal of personal, subjective judgment.

For example, it is clear that assessments of administrative and whole-system planning activities may involve teachers and administrators working together, since such assessments implicate only procedures and the organization as a collective entity--guilt about failures and problems is shared between participants and often delegated to procedures as objective and mechanical operations. Teacher evaluations, on the other hand, are more personal decisions which require the involvement of several different interests, points of view, and judgments. Teacher evaluations are issues--contentions of such interests, requiring negotiation rather than 'problem-solving' per se.

It is therefore recommended that any implementation model distinguish between such differences from the start. While everyone in the system may agree with the facts of administrative assessments, management evaluations must be considered as issues to be resolved by considering alternative interests and

perspectives, and negotiating resolutions. The parties involved in negotiations might include teachers, administrators, pupils and parents, unions, and other interests who appear to have a stake in the decisions to be made.

B. ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES

There is no one management and planning system; no optimum system, no universally-applicable approach to the challenge of accounting for institutional operations. Accordingly, a continuum of approaches is warranted before further generalizations may be made about implementation procedures. Five types of management and planning systems, with examples, have been developed as follows: (1) Optimization Systems; (2) Sub-Optimization Systems; (3) Experimental Systems; (4) Negotiation Systems; and (5) Dialectic Systems.

1. MANAGEMENT AND PLANNING SYSTEMS WHICH SEEK OPTIMIZATION

Some systems have been developed for the planning process which seek to allocate resources in an optimal form for the achievement of clearly-defined objectives. These systems assume there is only one 'right' way to best achieve objectives; and that most management and planning should be a process of mechanical assessments in relation to objective standards, such as measures of

efficiency and performance. Management by Objectives and Performance Contracting methods of management and planning are typical of such approaches, which treat educational institutions as mechanical puzzles, with the parts of the system in place and requiring only optimal 'fit' to work the way they should.

Such systems frequently encounter major personal and interpersonal obstacles to implementation, since they treat all components of the school system (individuals, interest factions, roles and operations) as impersonal entities subject to precise measurements. These systems work very well when applied to mechanical, tangible and quantifiable objectives (such as capital budgets, the allocation of facilities, transportation problems, etc.) but tend to fall apart in the face of more qualitative goals and objectives.

These systems also fall apart when underlying assumptions are reexamined and changed, so as to more closely reflect the real world in which they are to operate.

2. MANAGEMENT AND PLANNING SYSTEMS WHICH SUB-OPTIMIZE

Some systems have been developed which view planning as a problem to be solved by more than one alternative solution, depending upon preferential choices with respect to the importance of different

mixed objectives at any one time. These systems, typified by Program Planning and Budgeting Systems as they have been introduced to different school boards and systems, assume the allocation of resources to alternative mixes of objectives by priorities; the plans themselves become alternative mechanisms by which objectives are to be achieved. This problem-solving approach depends directly upon the degree to which specific obstacles may be identified and measured.

Resulting plans ensure achievement of each of several mixes of objectives--so that whatever choice is finally made, several contingency plans are also developed in the face of recognized change in requirements. Both the Optimizing and Sub-Optimizing approaches tend to experience severe implementation obstacles when any of the following conditions/situations occur: (1) not enough is known about objectives and conditions; (2) several different interests and parties are involved in making decisions; and (3) decision-makers lack experience and the values necessary to make decisions of preference in conditions of choice.

3. EXPERIMENTAL MANAGEMENT AND PLANNING SYSTEMS

Experimental management and planning systems are those which are frequently developed when not enough is known about (a) the objective management and

planning system itself, and/or (b) the environment into which it is to be introduced. Such trial-and-error systems are prey to many of the implementation obstacles defined above under the heading, "Lack of Understanding." Because these systems are in general 'tailor-made', there exist insufficient confidence in them, which in turn generates considerable organizational instabilities.

Because such systems are relatively unique, they must be considered on a case basis and thus many of the problems noted above under the heading, "Lack of Tools...," a so apply. On the other hand, these systems are the easiest to implement, and the most difficult to maintain. If one may generalize from experience, one of the difficulties encountered frequently in the use of these systems is that they tend either (a) to change so often in response to changes in school systems that their purposes (management and planning) become nebulous and their effectiveness highly questionable, or (b) to remain stable, based upon perceptions of an obsolete organizational function and set of objectives.

Yet another disadvantage accompanying experimental designs is the degree to which they are unique to the 'host' organization and its circumstances, thereby inapplicable in actual content and/or purpose to other

school systems. This isolation also tends to produce jargon and facts which are meaningless and confusing elsewhere.

4. NEGOTIATIVE MANAGEMENT AND PLANNING SYSTEMS

Negotiative management and planning systems are developed when all planning decisions are viewed as necessarily political in nature, requiring the involvement of all or some of the many interests which may be affected by such decisions. 'Democratic' and 'Jury' systems are of this variety; the former presumes a (often mythical) condition of equality in terms of the authority of various interests, without definitive leadership, while the latter assumes that definitive leadership will always take into account the judgments, past and present, and precedence of similar cases in making a decision.

Most intrinsic and intuitive planning systems in schools are negotiative in nature--they are political processes. More disciplined negotiative planning systems require various prescribed participation mechanisms to ensure that all interests are heard.

One of the major defects of a negotiative planning system is the lack of concerted opinion about the value of a judgment. Another is the singular lack of unbiased facts upon which to base

decisions. Still a third is the highly emotional nature of the process, which inherently depends upon interpersonal politics.

5. DIALECTIC MANAGEMENT AND PLANNING SYSTEMS

These systems are least quantitative and most normative in nature, requiring extensive employment of basic values about the "long term" directions, purposes and goals of education. Because of this, they tend to be highly personal and provincial in nature, and require clear (often unrealized) differentiations between personal opinions and values and the larger public good. Such systems seek out fundamental paradoxes and enigmas which must be dealt with subsequent to any other decision-making. Once these are resolved, such systems suggest, a more mechanical (optimization) approach may be realized.

Objections to these management and planning systems arise from the vagueness of their focus; the lack of concrete decisions; the inability to quantify conclusions; and the lack of responsibility for conclusions reached. Many school staffs claim that such considerations are too philosophical or political for effective use; others find conclusions nebulous and even meaningless.

C. CAN THESE SYSTEMS BE INTEGRATED?

Each of the five systems might be viewed as a stage in an over-all model of cyclical implementation,

provided that school systems may come to understand the differences in the kinds of challenges and obstacles each system appears to address. Thus, debates over teacher performance may not be treated as sub-optimization problems; and arguments about the best way to use audio-visual equipment should not become the subject of philosophical deliberations.

1. THE ASSESSMENT-EVALUATION DISTINCTION

To date, however, no one system has been developed which integrates all of these various perspectives. Indeed, most management and planning systems do not even draw a distinction between assessment and evaluation activities. Assessment is the mechanical measurement of the operations of a system, against standards which are established objectively; which provide such measures as efficiency in the allocation of resources, effectiveness in achieving desired consequences, and performance in operations. Evaluation, on the other hand, is the application of criteria of organizational relevance or meaning to data produced by assessments, so as to determine the importance of the consequences of the operations of a system. The standards employed in evaluation are developed necessarily by the organization itself, and so evaluations are interaction and contentional, employing measures of worth, value, and import to elements and the whole of the educational system--pupils, teachers, units of teachers,

departments, curricula, etc.

Quite a few management and planning systems which are now functioning in school systems face human and organizational obstacles directly related to the treatment of assessments and evaluations as one and the same operation, tied to planning decisions and decision-making processes. Some of the difficulties experienced by planners in the implementation example cited earlier resulted from confusion over when to treat an issue as a matter of sub-optimizing alternatives, as opposed to negotiating a more political solution to philosophical differences in approach to a particular problem. By examining some of the criteria applicable to each kind of operation, the necessity of distinctive styles of operation becomes apparent.

2. ASSESSMENT CRITERIA

Four kinds of assessment criteria, each employing objective standards, are: (1) efficiency in the utilization of resources; (2) effectiveness of objectives in producing desired consequences; (3) the degree to which elemental actions are mutually complementary, in the achievement of overall objectives; (4) the degree to which objectives of different programs and operations are mutually complementary in attaining different objectives.

Many kinds of efficiency measures are budgetary,

and differentiate between mandatory and discretionary budgets and operations. These include cost/benefit analyses, accounts of the utilization of established resources, opportunity costs analyses and comparative analyses centering on effectiveness in meeting pre-established objectives. Other kinds of efficiency analyses assess operations according to criteria established by other kinds of scarcities: timing, coordination, precedence and permanence.

Where efficiency measures might be viewed as analyses of the "fit" of operations in relation to prescribed plans, effectiveness measures are concerned with "ends"--with the consequences of operations in relation to prescribed plans. Beyond the notion of a "result" of operations is the consequence(s) of that result, regardless of the means employed or the objectives attained. Thus effectiveness measures are typically far more qualitative in accounting procedure and substance than are efficiency measures. In most effectiveness assessments, criteria are drawn from planning goals and objectives; from the ends as prescribed by policies; and from the feedback relationship between expressed and realized consequences.

Complementarity of operations and elemental objectives is yet another important kind of assessment. Operations and objectives which become obstacles

to each other represent waste and the source of interpersonal conflict. Recently, some efficiency studies in school systems have employed more rigorous analyses of the complementarity of both planned and actual operations and objectives, including forms of "cross-support/impact analysis."

Finally, assessments must include some appreciation for the overall coordination of planning and control activities, on-going functions, and to broader programs and objectives--in the school district, the region, and in relation to other kinds of social and economic programs. This larger concern for complementarity is key to the rationalization of the education budget in its larger environment; and so includes the examination of alternatives, the efficiency and effectiveness of other kinds of programs, and the degree to which the educational system makes a larger contribution to them.

All assessment criteria are strongly concerned with measurement, and thereby with planning and control; and most interests composing the educational community--including the clients and customers of that community, view assessments as scientific processes which are objective and value-free. Assessments are also viewed as rigid, strict and relatively alien strategies by which some, especially administrators, may manipulate the judgment of others for their own

purposes. It is with precisely this frequent use of assessments in mind that one must address the problem of evaluation.

More broadly speaking, assessments serve the interests of the 'customers' of education, or those who must 'pay' for the effects of educational activities. The customers of education are least concerned with participation in its delivery, and prefer the information provided by objective assessments to active involvement in change, control and planning.

3. EVALUATION CRITERIA

Two other kinds of public are important in terms of the planning of education: constituents and clients. Constituencies are those groups of private interest, and the institutions which they form, which desire to actively influence change and decisions about change with respect to educational objectives and operations. Clients, on the other hand, are those who are actively involved in the delivery of education. The former are interactive and competitive; the latter transactional. Constituencies include individuals and associations representing the business community; political parties; social welfare institutions; government and popular interests with a direct or indirect concern about decision-making and decisions with respect to education. To the degree that the participation of these interests is managed well, a school

system builds its visible community relevance and its credibility. Clients include teachers, pupils, administrators, parents, researchers, and others who give something to the school system in return for something else. They might be organized by such motives as authority, private gain, sufficiency, and quality or influence. To the degree that client relationships are well managed, the system builds its initiative and maintains its confidence.

III. REALITIES OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL ENVIRONMENT

A. CRITERIA OF CREDIBILITY

The popular public interests of constituency groups in the community of a school system are frequently transient in both subject matter and interaction; the conduct on the part of most school systems is at least responsive, and at times reactive as the system itself perceives changes in its role and environment. Accordingly, credibility is a short-term measure of the adaptability and flexibility of facilities and operations in relation to internal and external circumstance and condition.

Rather than precise measures, analyses of the credibility of institutions must answer a set of prescribed questions, while at the same time searching for indicators of the mismanagement of popular public interests and their expression in participatory

action. Some of these questions are:

1 What are the response and reaction mechanisms of the institution to perceived changes in the nature of institutional and broader community problems, or obstacles to the achievement of identified objectives?

Mismanagement can result in two kinds of reactions on the part of constituencies: the tendency to overly-rely on the institution to solve non-institutional problems, vs. the tendency not to involve, or to discount the benefits of involvement, of the institution in the solution of non-institutional problems. Where the former takes increasing amounts of institutional credibility, the latter is characterized by paternalistic actions of constituencies with respect to the institution.

2 What are the response and action mechanisms of the institution to perceived changes in the nature of popular contentions, both within and outside of the institution, over decision-making processes and decisions?

This question addresses the perceived role(s) of the institution in advocacy situations where judgment is required, and where credibility is maintained by consistency of stance. An institution which ignores different advocacy positions in a given issue is not

perceiving a complete range of alternatives available to it for becoming an active part of the dynamic community in which it exists. On the other hand, institutional postures which are perceived to "hop around" from one point of view to another arbitrarily, is increasingly viewed as an untrustworthy ally. The management of popular issue (as opposed to administration of problem-solving) requires the institution to exercise judgment in making choices.

3 What feedback mechanisms have been developed by the institution in relation to changes in 'consumer' demands?

Two especially significant consumer groups in American education are the labor force, on the one hand, and the manpower requirements of industry on the other. The needs of each group change continuously and are expressed by such measures as unemployment and underemployment, retraining programs, etc. To remain credible, the educational institution must have some means developed to recognize these changes, and to act on them in ways which may be recognized by selected consumer groups.

4 By what means does the institution provide feedback for the expression of popular interests, as a part of the management of participation of constituency groups?

A common vehicle of constituency expression is public protest, the object of which is to be heard. But increasingly, popular interest groups are demanding more than simple recognition of their point of view--they are demanding inclusion in decision-making as an activity. Feedback, to let them know that they have been recognized and their interests weighed in the making and carrying-out of a decision is essential in preventing frustration and practical escalation of the tactics and strategies they may employ to ensure participation.

5 By what means does the institution provide feedback with respect to the performance, including rewards and punishments, to its changing clientele?

6 How does the institution recognize and take into account changing opportunities, threats and challenges in its environment? What intelligence-gathering procedures have been developed, how are these related to planning and accountability, to control; and finally, how surprise-free has been the experience of the institution?

Analytic activities necessary to establish the credibility of the educational institution consist largely of the analysis of the role played by the institution, both internally and externally. A method

of the role analysis is discussed below, following a discussion of dimensions of confidence.

B. CRITERIA OF CONFIDENCE

The transactions of client groups with each other and with the school system as a whole tend to "harden up" over time as they become institutionalized and as procedures are developed to 'smooth out' disturbances in organizational functions and communications. Such a smoothing process requires leadership, initiative, and reactive qualities in the organization, over a consistent period of time, reflecting the stability and endurance of the institution and its purpose. Accordingly, confidence is a longer-term measure of the belief of individuals and units in themselves and their institution, including self-reliance and self-sufficiency with the competence, ability and capability to set objectives, make plans, and meet those objectives in spite of changing conditions and obstacles.

Some questions relevant to these criteria are:

1 What major change events have occurred in the history of the organization, and on what were these changes predicated?

2 What relationships have the history of institutional changes had to established organizational, educational and operational policies?

3 With what frequency and to what degree has change in the history of the organization, and in the

history of its relationships to the surrounding community been a product of initiative and leadership in acting upon problems and issues which others did not deal with?

4 In the design of planning and control activities, to what degree and under what procedures are alternative objectives and methods for their achievement considered, on a continuing basis?

5 What has become of the self-image of the educational system, and what relation has this self-image to the expectations of various component clients with respect to the future behavior of the system?

6 What is the relationship of planning, plans, and the implementation of them to established precedents in the history of the organization?

7 What especially unique plans and programs have been conducted by the educational system, in relation to what perceived needs?

8 What has been the relationship of planning, plans and their implementation to perceived capabilities of the institution, including needs for improvements in them?

9 What subject matters, objectives and processes have and have not been included in the development of plans and evaluation criteria of the educational institution?

10 How frequently are implementation processes based upon plans assessed and evaluated, and with what outcomes and forms of feedback?

11 Who appears to be consistently included in the development of evaluation criteria and the actual evaluation of organizational functions, special programs, and resources, and who is consistently left out?

12 When faced in the past with reduced budgets and/or tightened performance requirements, what elements of the organization or system have been the first to suffer? Does there exist a consistency in cutbacks for selected functions?

As can be appreciated, confidence criteria are very much wedded to both the history and future plans of organizations and systems of them. Again, analysis is conducted by considering the role(s) played by the organization, though in the case of confidence, over a longer time period, and with more emphasis on the internal machinery of the organization and system.

IV. A FRAMEWORK FOR ROLE ANALYSIS

A. ROLES AS THE ADAPTIVE MECHANISMS OF ORGANIZATIONS

Levinson (1968) lists four orders of illustrative coping and adaptive activities of organizations facing stress, which promises to be of significant use in the

assessment of organizational ills of urban education. In addition, however, it may be proposed that all roles of organizations are adaptive in both intent and behavior, and that evaluations of relative credibility and confidence may be achieved by considering intention and behavior in the short-term (in relation to credibility), and over the long-term in relation to confidence. Levinson makes such a distinction when he differentiates genetic from current organization. Though on is tempted, it cannot be said that at any one time an organization is more or less confident than it is credible--since these values are simultaneous. However, it can be said that an organization is expending relatively more or less of its resources in the management of one of these two values; and that it is succeeding relatively more or less in its objectives with respect to them.

We may differentiate two dimensions of role analysis: (1) the intent of participation strategies as management guidelines; and (2) the actual behavior of the organization in carrying this intent out. Since these dimensions are typically interdependent in the analysis of a role construct, a matrix--illustrating possible combinations of participation strategies and behaviors--may be developed, as outlined in Chart 1 on the following page.

Chart 1: Role Postures Matrix

(Interactions of Participation Strategies and Behaviors)

BEHAVIORS \ STRATEGIES	DELEGATION	DELIBERATION	CONSORTATION	CONSULTATION	TOKENISM	PATERNALISM
ADVISORY						
SUPERVISOR						
REGULATORY						
CATALYTIC						
ADVISORY/ SERVICE						
PASSIVE						

B. DEFINITIONS OF PARTICIPATION STRATEGIES (INTENTIONS OR PLANS)

The following are examples of common participation strategies--intentions or plans:

Paternalism

(1) the intent to inform others of what decisions have been made, but not to ask for or accept any other response or communication.

(2) the intent to tell others what has happened after it is already an established fact.

Tokenism

(1) the intent to involve those affected or effecting decision to assist as much as necessary but as little as possible to the degree that they feel they have been involved.

(2) the intent to involve others in making decisions about matters which are irrelevant or insignificant in relation to the central decision to be made and implemented.

(3) the intent to direct those involved so that they are so divided on the settlement of the decision choices that they request you to make the decision for them.

Consultation

(1) the intent to ask others to assist you

in making a choice from a set of options already independently formulated.

(2) the intent to ask others to assist you in elaborating upon choices you have already formulated.

Consortation

(1) the intent to ask others to assist you in implementing a decision already made.

(2) the intent to present to others a series of options of which only the one you desire is clearly feasible, and ask them to make the decision.

Deliberation

(1) the intent to give others sufficient resources to assist you in the development of options for decisions of choice, and to involve them in the decision process.

(2) the intent to ask others to develop the options for your decision of choice.

(3) the intent to ask others to develop alternatives, make the decision and act upon, subject to your approval/veto.

Delegation

(1) the intent to pass on to others the challenge and the resources so as to meet the challenge.

(2) the intent to divide components of the challenge up amongst different interested groups, to ask them to integrate in making and carrying out the decision.

It should be noted that this list is by no means exhaustive; these are simply alternative forms of intentions with respect to participation.

C. DEFINITIONS OF PARTICIPATION BEHAVIORS

The following are common examples of actual participatory behaviors, which occur in interaction with intended or planned strategies:

Active: leading others, or persuading others to take the initiative and lead, when others are not acting.

Supervisory: planning, managing, directing and evaluating the work of others.

Regulatory: setting of standards, rates, controls and applying these in 'policing' types of action.

Catalytic: facilitating relationships where they have not existed, or assisting others in better adjusting their relationships.

Advisory/Service: commentary, assistance, advisement and warning with respect to the actions of others.

Passive: maintaining or improving one's own capabilities while leaving real action up to others.

D. EMPLOYING ROLE ANALYSES IN EVALUATIONS

The resulting property spaces may be employed to identify qualitative characteristics of actors and interests participating in, or desiring to participate in, decisions and decision-making in educational systems. For example, a group of teachers taking an active, tokenistic role with respect to administrators may be characterized as especially confident, and not particularly desiring external information nor actual participation with respect to a given decision. Given such an evaluation, there is then the matter of defining what constitutes an adequate response or reaction.

Further, it is possible to group the thirty-six role postures into anticipated attitudinal sets, and to identify the kinds of reasoning, purpose and perspective of each attitudinal set, thereby anticipating necessary mechanisms for integrative planning and evaluation (leaving assessment aside, as a mechanical process and tool for reinforcing evaluations). Four attitudinal sets are:

1 Influential, innovative, technical: individuals and groups who are most concerned and impressed by the scientific character of evaluative measures,

and who employ these measures so as to make systematic all analyses. This set is continually searching for new techniques, methods, procedures and systems by which to reinforce innovative goals and objectives; however, they frequently lack real follow-through. They tend to be excellent leaders and generate great enthusiasm. The most effective means of including them in the planning, assessment, evaluation and control process is to ask them to design procedures by which standards and measures employed in assessments may reflect evaluation criteria.

2 Influential, precedent-oriented: individuals and groups who tend to view evaluation activity as too abstract and qualitative, but who would employ such techniques as rationalization for performance assessments. This set is continually searching for consensus amongst different interests which may be involved, by making visible past accomplishments. They tend to be excellent planners and doers. Typically, the most effective means of including them is to ask their active participation in planning activities, leaving assessments and evaluations, including control functions, up to others.

3 Autonomous, precedent-oriented: individuals and

groups who tend to find security in systems and procedures which assist them to define goals, objectives, controls and feedback apparatus. This set is continually searching for ambiguities and abstractions which may be interpreted into specific measures and new meaning. They tend to search for dynamic leadership, and often exercise prudent judgment. Typically, the most effective means of including them is to ask them to provide leadership in the conduct of evaluations, but to follow others in exercising actual controls.

4 Autonomous, innovative: individuals and groups who tend to view assessment, evaluation and planning activities as absolutely essential mechanisms to ensure continuing achievement and progress. This set is continually searching for new and better means by which to achieve concrete results and objectives, but in practice, they tend to over-complicate planning, assessment and evaluation activities. They tend to be excellent actors in exercising controls, and it is in this fashion that they are typically most effective in being included in the management functions of institutions.

CONCLUSIONS: KEY CONSIDERATIONS IN IMPLEMENTING MANAGEMENT AND PLANNING SYSTEMS

There appears to be a clear case for differentiating kinds of managerial review, planning and control functions in schools. One fundamental distinction may be drawn between (1) relatively mechanical assessments of the performance of operations, and (2) the relatively qualitative evaluations of the consequences of that performance--internally and externally, in the immediate present, and over the long term.

Assessment criteria, in the form of standards and measures, may be introduced initially from outside of the organization, provided that they are subsequently modified by a process of evaluation. This means that as the expressed, overt and covert, values of the organization and its relevant external interests are articulated and interpreted into specific, quantitative measures, these measures in turn become the criteria for assessments. Until such a time (and this must be a continuing process), the application of the values of the organization and its relevant environment must be a negotiative process, subject to clinical, rather than generalized, analysis and development.

Organizational values may be divided into two broad sets, by the time-term of consideration. First, the credibility of the organization and its immediate relationships with its clients, constituents, and customers as a functional dynamic of role interactions

Table 1: Attitudinal Sets Attached to Activities

Attitudinal Set	Managerial Review Activity
Influential, Innovative	Quantification of Evaluations and the Conduct of Assessments
Influential, Precedent-Oriented	Qualitative Planning Activities, Integrating Assessments & Evaluations
Autonomous, Precedent-Oriented	Leadership in the Conduct of Evaluations
Autonomous, Innovative	Implementation of Plans and Exercise of Controls

and transactions, in which response and reaction mechanisms are examined. Second, the confidence of the organization over a long period of time, in which the reactive and initiative character of the organization is examined over the period of its development.

A managerial review process is proposed which attaches specific attitudinal sets to specific activities per Table 1 on the preceding page. This table provides a framework for managing the implementation process in terms of attitudinal sets (role postures) of participating personnel and the specific managerial review activities to which these personnel might, most effectively, be attached.

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Partnership For Progress in Urban Education, November 1978

AN INITIAL FORMULATION

Research, Diagnosis and Development in Urban Education

by

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I. INTRODUCTION

The recent appointment of Robert C. Wood, retiring President of the University of Massachusetts, to the Superintendency of the Boston School System, is a symbol of the rediscovery of urban schools as a critical factor in urban redevelopment. Both the energy problem and the housing needs of the Baby Boom population are market forces which have emerged in the last several years to invigorate the demand for urban housing. It is said by some that better housing will bring people back to the city but it will be the schools which keep them there. The performance of the urban schools will be the bottom line of urban redevelopment. At the time of his appointment, Dr. Wood, one of the original "urbanists" and director of the Joint Center for Urban Studies at MIT/Harvard, echoed these concerns and indicated that he wanted to bring the skills of the urban sciences to the problems of the schools of Boston.

There are different perspectives on how those problems of the urban schools should be characterized. There are those who have indicated that the problem is primarily a learning problem of disadvantaged students. These students are said to have certain language and experiential deficits associated with poverty and other socio-economic distress conditions. A second perspective focuses on the inadequacy of the instructional system. These instructional deficits are either attributed to the pre-service and in-service experiences of the urban teacher, or to the lack of adequate and appropriate curriculum materials.

A third perspective is concerned with the general inadequacy of the fiscal resources to support urban education. As the studies on municipal overburden indicate, the cost of doing the public's business in cities is dramatically higher. Budgets for urban districts must make additional provision for security, counseling, nutrition, absenteeism, health, and other non-instructional concerns. In addition, the capitol funds for building renovation and new construction have not, in many cases, been forthcoming. In New Jersey, for instance, 40 percent of the urban schools in that state were built before 1914.

A fourth characterization of the problem of urban education is concerned with what might be called the management deficit of urban districts. Given the size (number of schools), complexity (diverse population), and social-economic stress (unemployment, health problems) of urban districts, many districts are effectively under managed by the traditional provisions of educational administration. A further aspect of the management deficit might be characterized by a deficit of political rationality in at least some urban districts. Certainly the legal mandate of desegregation has partially contributed to this condition.

These overlapping characterizations of the problems of urban schools are not necessarily in conflict. Taken together they describe the complex reality of the urban education systems. What may be in conflict are the potential developmental treatments which might flow from the diagnosis associated with each of these characterizations. Different professional orientations will argue for the primacy of one micro treatment

over another as the most effective or necessary way to change aspects of the macro reality.

At this point it might be useful to introduce the medical metaphor recently utilized by George Will.

Will (Newsweek, August 7, 1978)argues that most of the major improvements in the health of Americans in the 20th Century have been derived from changes in social behavior or environmental conditions. It has been increased improvements in sanitation which has reduced infant mortality as well as deaths from typhoid fever. Conversely it has been behavior associated with automobiles which have increased deaths and causalities from accidents. Likewise increases in smoking and the eating of meat have led to the increases in cancers. Will argues that the "treatments" of modern hospital care and medical technologies contribute significant but only minor improvements in overall health care. These "micro" treatments can contribute only marginally to improvements in the macro reality. Is this medical/health care metaphor transferable to public education?

The bias of this paper is towards a systems perspective. The classroom system exists within a school/community system which exists within a broader district/city system within a regional/state/national system. Micro or incremental treatments at either the classroom level or elsewhere at different levels may provide important but minor changes and improvements. The search for a classroom penicillin may lead to a reduction of certain learning infections but improvements in the overall

instructional environment of a community may contribute more to the education/health of the school population.

The difficulty with any systems perspective is that each social science discipline has adopted the techniques of systems research in different ways. At the same time the various disciplines and professions associated with the social sciences have no integrated methodological system. The use by Arthur Wise and others of a social science construct as the basis for critiquing educational research is an artificial exercise. There is no social science; instead there are numerous and diverse scientific procedures for researching social phenomena.

If we are to proceed with the study of urban education, strategies for social and organizational research must be formulated or restated. Tactics for classroom research should flow from a broader concern or strategy for research on complex urban systems. Another bias of this paper is with the social economy of cities (Gappert, 1975). The allocation of resources to education, to schools, to the classroom and to the individual student is viewed as a central issue. The scarcest resource to be allocated is time - professional time for instruction and educational management, and student time for learning and studying. How does a community allocate its time and other resources to educational tasks and facilities and materials? The system of allocations occur with a broad social context. The central concern of resource allocation within that context comprises the social economy of urban education.

II. URBANISM AND DIMENSIONS OF URBAN SYSTEM

In this section we want to review the concept of urbanism and propose some dimensions to characterize complex urban system.

Louis Wirth formulated the concept of urbanism around the notions of size, density, and heterogeneity. A more appropriate contemporary conception of urbanism, featuring relationships expressing underlying socio-economic realities, should probably include the dimensions of (1) urban population changes, (2) segmented markets, (3) the poverty and progress paradox, (4) the organization and distribution of lifestyles, (5) the problems of community or group identification, (6) the manifestations of racial conflict and cultural aversions, (7) the range of intermediate institutions and organizations, (8) innovation and diffusion, (9) the changing nature and value of centrality, and (10) the evolving uses of urban structural forms. These dimensions are treated below.

Urban population changes and the dynamic forces behind those changes are perhaps the chief manifestations of the social economic conditions of the city. The population changes reflect the push-and-pull forces of migration between and within cities. The attention of the last three decades has focused primarily upon the rural to urban population dynamic. As Niles Hansen demonstrated in Rural Poverty and the Urban Crisis (1970), these movements can be best understood within a framework of regional development, economic motivations, and social needs.

In the years ahead the analysis of intra- and interurban population movements will be of greater importance. As Morrison (1974) has demonstrated in his studies for The Rand Corporation, intrametropolitan movements within cities like St. Louis and Seattle, strongly influenced by federal procurement policies, represent the changing but chronic urban condition.

Schools are especially impacted by the changing demography of cities. The influx of new immigrant populations especially the Hispanic ones have continued the tradition of the cities as entry points into American society. Besides their problems of adapting and developing programs for these new language groups, urban schools also face the pervasive problem of student transience caused by instability in urban housing conditions.

Associated with these population changes is the development and evolution of segmented urban markets for housing, labor, social services, and so forth. Earlier views of the homogeneous nature of urban economic processes have given way to more detailed analysis on the segmented nature of the supply and demand forces operating within the urban region. This is especially true of the several markets for labor which seem to exist. Both the notion and analysis of a dual labor market (Reich, Gordon and Edwards, 1973) and of an internal labor market (Piore and Doeringer, 1971) provide a much more realistic perspective on the development of urban policy.

The neighborhoods of a city often reflect this segmentation. The segmentation of fundamental urban activity patterns reflect tendencies towards a "natural" organization of the highly diverse nature of urban life. This is one reason why urban schools within a single city may vary tremendously in both their operating context and in the quality of their efforts.

Similar concepts of segmentation in other markets are perhaps important in understanding the poverty and progress paradox. Urbanists since the time of Henry George have struggled to understand the persistence of economic instability and deprivation alongside the growth of wealth and affluence. It may well be that the lower class so deplored (but accepted) by Edward Banfield and the so-called "culture of poverty" identified by Oscar Lewis are really best viewed as social adaptations to the structure of economic inequality which is so endemic to urban growth.

Urban schools are viewed by some as operating in an economic class and social caste environment which is outside of the American mainstream. But others argue that economic deprivation and inequality are integral to that mainstream and that urban schools have always served as filtering devices to it.

One of the significant spatial manifestations of the persistence of economic inequality in cities is the evolving distribution of lifestyles governed by socioeconomic circumstances. From Dorcester in Boston to River Hills in Milwaukee to the new town of Flower

Mound in Texas, the self-selecting forces of social and economic segregation are strong, persistent, and resistant to planned change.

It may be, as David Harvey (1973) points out, that as the forces of urbanization create a more homogenous nation, the demands of lifestyle and workstyle affinity groups reestablish within the city "regional" differences. Insofar as the urbanization of the countryside has created an interrelated network of economically effective space, people attempt by all manner of social means to differentiate what the marketplace has in fact rendered homogenous. As Harvey writes: "Hence the urban space economy is replete with all manner of pseudo-hierarchical spatial orderings to reflect prestige and status in residential locations. These orderings are very important to the self-respect of people."

Out of this "created space" may come the forces of social redistribution and reciprocity. These forces are perhaps the significant forms of behavior which along with communication and the ordering of behavior make up a sense of community (Minar and Greer, 1969). The struggle to find or to recreate a sense of community within the competitive nexus of the urban markets remains contested throughout contemporary metropolitan America. The "privatism" of the early industrial city continues and has redefined itself in suburbia as Packard (1972) and Slater (1970) have pointed out.

It is not necessary to define the social purpose of community-seeking behavior within the spatial boundaries of the traditional

urban neighborhood. This concept perhaps is more of a theoretical construct than a social reality. But the notion of neighborhood is being resurrected, either through the imperative of political decentralization (Kotler, 1969) or through the economic value of "neighborly behavior" (Keller, 1968).

The rediscovery of the value of community schools, of community education, and similar efforts to build parental involvement and support for instructional needs and goals is a reflection of the periodic need to rebuild a sense of community within the confines of the city.

But the sense of community which seemingly has a socioeconomic logic is often torn apart by the acceleration of racial conflict and cultural aversion. On the one hand these emotional forces with their complex psychological roots tend to reinforce socioeconomic segregation tendencies. The social stress engendered by economic competition, instability, and the frailty of social cohesion in a changing city is exacerbated by these forces. But on the other hand it is unclear whether the further evolution of cities can be directed so as to ameliorate these tensions. Halpern (1969), in defining racism as a symptom of incoherence between individuals and social groupings, suggests that the tension management of other kinds of relationships must be sought so as to achieve new, transformed relationships between members of different groups. This is perhaps why desegregation efforts which are limited only to schools create such conflicts.

The broader economic and political forces must be harnessed to promote and support new patterns of cultural and social integration or cohesion as the urban population changes.

Behind the myth of the partially integrated, partially pluralistic city lies the need for a concept of metropolitan citizenship which is illusive and visionary. Perhaps the preoccupation of political science with issues of metropolitan functions and structures has obscured the need to understand the historical and cultural forces present within the political process. More important to the understanding of the further evolution of the social economy of cities is the need to perceive the range of intermediate institutions and organizations which operate within the urban region. These intermediate institutions operating at the level of the urban scale are the single most important interface between the local citizen and the national society. In spite of the dominance of the national corporate economy and the preeminence of a televised culture, it is the institutions which are operative within the 243 SMSAs that chiefly influence the pace and style of life for most Americans.

With the advent of the several forms of revenue sharing, localism in the range of urban institutions has been reinforced, if not reestablished. A more systematic analysis of the structure of local institutions is required. Warren's notion of the interorganization field in his recent The Structure of Community Reform

(1974) is an important new construct by which interaction, coordination, innovation, and responsiveness within urban institutions can be analyzed. As Williamson (1973) has pointed out, the development of nonmarket forms of economic organization occurs whenever economic markets, attempting to complete a set of transactions, experience social or political frictions. In one sense urban institutions of many kinds arise from a social reaction to the workings and failures of economic markets. But at the same time, institutional or organizational failures lead to a whole series of bureaucratic pathologies which are themselves a manifestation of the "chronic urban" condition. Changes in the way in which urban institutions allocate economic resources for social needs reflect the evolving nature of a major portion of the urban social economy.

As with community education, new forms of civic education need to be reinvented from time to time. The civic and social purposes of education need to be reformulated as urban schools experience the evolving realities of urban change. In many cases, the American city continues to be the place where things happen first.

Jane Jacobs, in both her The Death and Life of Great American Cities (1961) and The Economy of Cities (1969), has exalted the tumultuous qualities of urban life in fostering creativity. The processes of innovation and diffusion are not well understood, but both theory and experience suggest that the supply of deviance and

the demand for innovations often achieve a synergistic equilibrium in the hurly-burly of urban systems. It is unclear, however, if Jacob's model, primarily drawn from New York City in which many things have been invented ranging from brassieres to neighborhood school councils, is equally applicable to Dayton, Milwaukee, and Omaha. A city perhaps has a period of innovation and a period of diffusion, and its survival may depend upon prolonging those periods. The socioeconomic correlates of innovation in both the public and private sectors remain undetected and untested. There is, however, a growing literature on innovation and diffusion which, despite its roots in rural sociology, could be applied to an analysis of innovations in urban schools.

Associated with the processes of innovation and diffusion is the changing nature and value of centrality. The centrifugal forces manifested in suburbanization and the emergence of "spread city" have obscured the fact that new centers of centripetal attraction have appeared throughout the metropolis. The concern of the traditional civic elites with the reduced significance of the central business district has lead to a lack of attention to the social and economic processes which have sprung up around the airports, the office parks, the shopping centers, and so on - all of which represent the polycentric city. This neglect has been compounded by the work of the architect-planners who have designed urban forms with rigorously separated specialized functions, thereby making it more difficult to reestablish the creative congestion of traditional urban centers.

Urban schools in particular have become isolated from some of the more dynamic metropolitan realities. This is especially true for the urban high school which has, in many cases, been isolated from the regional labor markets.

The evolving uses of urban structural forms become, in a period of rediscovered economic scarcity, of central importance in the attempt to use "natural" centripetal forces to offset the resource-wasting forces of subsidized suburbanization. Too often a wasteful "physical fix" is sought as a response to urban social problems. From the "super suburbs" called New Towns to the "defensible space" fantasies of public housing planners, the construction of new designs has been sought as some kind of solution to social malfunctions. An alternative perspective would seek to organize and motivate social and economic behavior toward the better use and adaptation of existing structural forms. The organization of low-income tenants into public safety committees is as important to the evolving use of public housing as is the formation of development districts by private businessmen to the preservation of retail shopping areas.

With the large stock of urban schools which pre-dates World War I, school renovation for a broader range of educational and social functions becomes a critical dilemma. Simultaneously new designs for community focused schools have been developed in a number of cities. A fundamental rethinking about the functions and forms of public buildings in cities is needed.

The ten dimensions discussed above represent an effort to reformulate an understanding of urbanism in American society. These dimensions, and others could be added, reflect the current realities of urban systems. But they are manifestations of the dynamic historical forces associated with the development of cities. It is within the context of these forces that urban schools need to be reinvigorated, reorganized or reinvented.

Table 1 presents these ten dimensions in summary fashion with some reference to the analytical approach involved. Each of these dimensions reflect at least a partial interdisciplinary concern in the social sciences. Discrete bodies of literature exist. A further exposition for each of these dimensions with respect to its significance to urban education could be attempted. The important concern however with these dimensions is to use them to order or to "bound" the discussions of urbanism and the systems of urban complexity. Urban policy and urban public systems including educaton can not be adequately understood without an appreciation of how these dimensions occur within a particular urban environment.

Table 1

Analytical Dimensions of Urbanism

1. Demographic analysis
2. Market research and analysis
3. The distribution and extent of economic inequality
4. Social indicators
5. Community identification and voluntary associations
6. Racial and cultural histories
7. Inter-institutional analysis
8. Indicators of innovation and deviance
9. Central place theory and analysis
10. Urban design and renovation

Each of these dimensions reflects a different "urban science." How they might condition research in urban education will require additional conceptual analysis and integration. Their function here is more evocative than substantive.

III. DIMENSIONS OF URBAN SCHOOLS

The ten dimensions discussed above represent the external system in which the urban school is embedded. It is now necessary to suggest some of the internal dimensions of an urban educational system.

Some of these dimensions are:

(1) the issue of a language deficit or a language difference

(2) the cultural and class experiences of an urban student

(3) the instructional style and resources of the urban teacher

(4) the multiple functions of an urban principal

(5) the resources and resource linkages of the urban school

(6) the community systems associated with the urban school

(7) the inter-institutional linkages between the school system and other agencies

(8) the management and administration system of the urban district

(9) the shifting patterns of employment opportunities for urban teenagers and high school graduates

(10) the politics of economic and legal constraints.

First, the issue of language deficit or language difference has been discussed by B. Cazden in Language and Poverty (1970). The claim is that urban minority and/or poverty children have acquired less language than middle class children or they have acquired a different language. Either way this language condition inhibits the acquisition of reading skills in the early grades

and this becomes a pervasive problem in different ways in the later grades. Clifford Hill has argued (1977) that in fact urban minority students, by virtue of their greater immersion in oral culture, have what might be considered a language "excess" which inhibits their ability to process written discourse. Regardless of different theories of causality, the urban student faces the need to acquire an array of reading skills in an environment which the language scientists agree is complex.

Second, a related issue for the urban student is the instructional significance of his or her cultural or social-economic class experiences. There are those who argue that the urban classroom has not taken advantage of the rich opportunities offered by cultural pluralism. Others argue that the intense and broad range of interactions in urban communities have been neglected or misused in the development of urban education. Gordon (1975) has suggested that "the definition, the identification, the specification, and eventually the manipulation of those interactions may be the most crucial tool that man has for influencing the development of man."

The problem is compounded or the opportunity is enhanced when it is understood that different groups of urban students may bring sharply different sets of urban experiences to the instructional setting. How are these experiences to be melded into an instructionally significant program? And, how can the shifting and evolving nature of these urban interactions contribute to the socialization intent of a common curriculum?

There is an obvious relationship between the above dimension and the instructional style and resources of the urban teacher. There are several issues associated with this dimension. The cultural and class differences between teacher and student may be significant. Beyond those possible differences there may also be a mismatch between the temperamental traits of a student and the temperamental demands of instructional situations. Stella has argued that as much as fifty percent of learning problems can be attributed to such a mismatch. In any event the teaching style of the teacher must approach or achieve congruence with different and perhaps complex learning styles and abilities. Resources to achieve such an instructional fit may be acquired through (1) pre-service training, (2) on-the-job experiences and adjustments, (3) formal or systematic in-service programs, and (4) on-site diagnostic and remedial resources. Given the changing external forces impacting upon urban education, the important issues for urban schools need to be focused on an analysis of on-going staff development and in-service provisions. Recent work by Don Moore and Arthur Hyde provides a methodology for diagnosing existing staff development policies in urban schools.

A fourth dimension to urban educational system includes the multiple functions of an urban principal. Given the size and complexity of most urban districts, the role of an urban principal involves substantial independence but within a complex web of

interrelationships. Arthur Hyde, in a study of urban principals for the Center for New Schools, describes five major problem areas. In each of these problem areas the principal must either assume or delegate appropriate functions. These problem areas include:

(1) securing support for the school

(2) governing the school and sharing decision-making powers

(3) developing curriculum programs and providing effective staff development

(4) managing the school and the building

(5) mediating human relationships within and around the school and its communities.

Associated with the above dimension is the fifth dimension which is the concern with the resources and resource linkages of the urban school.

Another related dimension is the system of community inputs and involvements with the urban school. Parental support, both direct and indirect, for the instructional goals of the school is critical. But so are the levels of health, nutrition and security, etc., present within the community around the school. School-based or school-coordinated services to the community represent the thrust of some of the innovations of urban community education. The Cities-in-Schools project is another manifestation of this concern.

This latter manifestation is also reflected in the dimension which is concerned with institutional linkages between the school system and other agencies. With the growth of many new federal and state programs, the normal complexity of urban agencies serving youth and

their families is augmented by issues of intergovernmental jurisdiction, grantmanship opportunities, and regulations against the co-mingling of funds.

The eighth dimension which is a source of concern with urban education is the management and administration system of urban districts.

A related dimension is the politics of dealing with these legal and economic constraints. These constraints reflect the political workings of legislative and judicial forces at the municipal, the state and the federal levels (and sometimes the counties). Political coalitions and conflicts are fundamental to the flow of fiscal resources to urban districts. The coalitions and conflicts must be orchestrated and managed at all levels. These tasks are in some cases new skills required by educational administrators. Further issues involving desegregation, special education, collective bargaining and judicial or quasi-judicial constraints add yet more actors to the political arena of modern urban education.

The last dimension which should be used to delineate a diagnosis of urban education is the shifting patterns of employment opportunities for urban teenagers and high school graduates. What is at stake here of course is the lack of opportunities for teenage employment in the short run, and for economic opportunity and mobility in the long run.

IV. AN INITIAL SUMMARY

The basic approach which is proposed for urban educational research is based upon several assumptions. These are:

- A need to recognize the complexity of urban systems and the environment in which urban schools function.
- An initial definition of Urbanism in American Society along ten or so dimensions.
- An initial definition of at least ten dimensions which are important for an understanding of the functions and structures of urban school systems.
- A recognition of the significance of different research traditions and paradigms of inquiry and analysis.
- A need to establish priorities for urban education research in fundamental and applied areas.

Associated with these assumptions is another assumption which is that we have tended to equate urban education with the problems of low status population as defined by ethnic, minority or low socioeconomic characteristics. In the decade ahead this emphasis will remain important but we need to recognize that Ed Gordon indicated at the first national urban educational conference in Kansas City and that is the essence of must urban characteristics are now part of the experience of almost all the people in the country, thanks to modern communication and transportation. Several other methodological considerations should be cited:

- There needs to be concern with problem definition and the role of the urban practioners in such perceptions and conceptions.
- There needs to be a concern that the jargon and definitions of the various professions and disciplines not be used to impose an outside designation of a problem (The research of Howard Becker, an urban sociologist, at a medical school, is good approach to the understanding of the problems of action research).
- There needs to be a concern with appropriate organizational diagnosis in the context of the proposed interventions and innovations.

- A structure for cross-site analysis and synthesis needs to be developed for both the urban and non-urban sites. The two sets of urban dimensions proposed above might be an appropriate beginning.

- The work in sociology on social indications needs to be reviewed for its relevance for the study of urban educational systems.

Additional analysis with respect to methodologies needs to be based upon decisions with respect to research directions. The social sciences have more methodologies than they have priorities:

With respect to outcomes of new efforts in urban educational research, several areas need to be discussed.

First, there should be a concern with the identification of existing or previous successful urban practi es. Criteria for such needs to be developed. Simultaneously the context for such successes needs to be analysed.

Second, the design and implementation of new urban innovations or initiatives needs to be informed by same preliminary context diagnosis along the different dimensions. Diagnosis and design proceedings should be developed in the context of the initial planning and problem definition.

Third, insofar as this initial formulation has been informed by a socio-economic perspective, there is a fundamental concern with the allocations of resources within urban systems. Those resources obviously include money and the things which money buys in and for schools. The most important thing which is bought is time, especially professional time. The allocations of managerial time, professional time and especially staff development time are critical to understanding the patterns of urban education. To return to the medical metaphor, a healthy educational environmental might be one in which both instructional and experiential time are adequately focused on particular learning outcomes and interactions. Such patterns may require social attention and support.

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Bibliography

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